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In Iraq's Sinjar Mountains on Aug. 12, Yazidi families, members of a sect threatened by ISIS, board an Iraqi air force rescue helicopter. Photograph by Moises Saman—Magnum for TIME

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Photograph by Nigel Parry—CPI

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Editor's Desk

The Master Critic



RICHARD CORLISS HAS CRAFTED EXQUISITE stories on tight deadlines many times before, including cover-length portraits of Johnny Cash and Jimmy Stewart. But he counts Robin Williams' death by his own hand as the most shocking. "The loss is more seismic, more poignant. His millions of fans have one question: Why? And one thought: Thank you." Corliss is too wise to conduct an arm's-length postmortem; but he does recall meeting Williams at a press luncheon in Cannes in 1998. "This was the calm, thoughtful Robin, bringing shading and insight to each reporter's questions," Richard says. "I now wonder if his cacophony of voices, his inner angel-demons, were making inspired fun of us all."

Corliss was hard at work on his tribute when word came of Lauren Bacall's passing—two precocious stars with enduring power whose careers played out across 70 years of history. It occurred to me to enlist another writer when Bacall died, but not for long. Richard has served as TIME's masterly guide through Hollywood, and many other worlds, for 34 years, and characteristically, he volunteered for service again.

With his broadcaster's baritone and bespoke sneakers (some featuring studio logos or cartoon characters), Corliss is a unique presence in our halls. He ranks among the longest-tenured critics in American journalism and is surely the most quoted writer in TIME's history. His warmth and eagerness to help young colleagues is such that one time, when his editors refused his request that he share his byline with two gifted reporters, he went back and rewrote the story so that the first letter of each paragraph spelled out their names. He can no longer entertain surreptitious smokers in his office, but he continues to flaunt a greater repertoire of film facts, tall tales, sharp insights and character sketches than anyone I know. Plus, every 20 years or so he finds time to write a book: *Talking Pictures* in 1974, a monograph on *Lolita* in 1994 and *Mom in the Movies* this year. His next project? "Get back to me in 2034."

Nancy Gibbs

Nancy Gibbs, MANAGING EDITOR



FROM THE ARCHIVE Robin Williams first appeared on the cover of TIME 35 years ago as the breakout star of *Mork & Mindy*. Musing about the throngs of fans he encountered on the streets of Venice, Calif., Williams said, "I felt like I was in the San Diego Zoo." For more from that story, visit time.com/robin79.



BEHIND THE STORY On Aug. 12, while covering the crisis in Iraq for TIME (see page 26), Magnum photographer Moises Saman became part of the story when the relief helicopter he was riding in crashed in northern Iraq, killing the pilot, Majed Abdul Salam, and injuring many passengers. The aircraft had just dropped off bread, water and other supplies for refugees in the Sinjar Mountains, where Saman took the above shot. "I really thought I was going to asphyxiate," recalls Saman, who was treated for minor injuries at a local hospital. "Everyone was in a state of shock." For more on Saman's harrowing ride, visit lightbox.time.com.

SETTING THE RECORD STRAIGHT In Briefing (Aug. 18), we misidentified the location of the largest U.S. coal-fired power plant. It is roughly 130 miles north of Flagstaff, Ariz.

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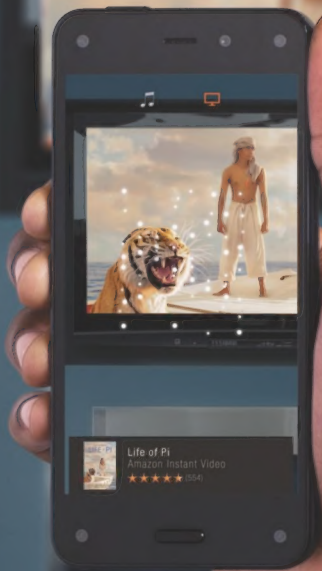
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Briefing

'The country
is in **your**
hands.'

FUAD MASUM, Iraqi President,
formally nominating Haider
al-Abadi to be Prime Minister
despite opposition from
longtime Prime Minister
Nouri al-Maliki



'There is a
high probability.'

ANDERS FOGH RASMUSSEN,
NATO Secretary-General, on
whether the Russian military
will intervene in eastern Ukraine



10 million

Number of Americans who
changed how they identify their
race or ethnicity when asked
by the Census Bureau over the
course of a decade

\$4 million

Amount raised by
the ALS Association
from July 29 through
Aug. 12, thanks
to a viral fundraising
challenge asking
people to douse
themselves with ice
water; that's up
from \$1.1 million
in the same period
last year



Burger King

The fast-food giant
is reintroducing
'chicken fries' be-
cause of popular
demand



GOOD WEEK
BAD WEEK



McDonald's

Shares are down
3.4% this year, in
part because of
trouble attracting
millennials



'**"DON'T DO STUPID
STUFF" IS NOT
AN ORGANIZING
PRINCIPLE.**'

HILLARY CLINTON, former U.S.
Secretary of State, criticizing President
Obama's approach to foreign policy
as overly cautious during an interview
with the *Atlantic*



\$2 billion

Amount the U.S. Postal Service lost in
its spring quarter, up from \$740 million
during the same period last year

'No one knows
more about
dramatic males
than I do.'



TAYLOR SWIFT,
poking fun at
her dating
history before
presenting
Choice Actor in
a Drama Movie
at the Teen
Choice Awards

'A lot of people saw this
as Noah's Ark.'

DR. BRUCE RIBNER, infectious-disease physician, on those who did not believe his unit at Emory University Hospital—which has led the care of American patients with the Ebola virus—would prove useful



Briefing

LightBox

Night Lights

Fireworks explode over Mosta in central Malta on Aug. 10, celebrating the feast of the town's patron saint. Behind them is the supermoon, which occurs when the moon is full during its closest approach to Earth.

Photograph by Darrin Zammit Lupi—Reuters

FOR PICTURES OF THE WEEK,
GO TO lightbox.time.com



World

Eastern Ukraine Teeters on the Brink Of Full-Blown War

BY SIMON SHUSTER/BERLIN

The conflict in eastern Ukraine has descended into siege warfare. After four months of fighting, government forces have managed to surround the last two strongholds of the pro-Russian separatist rebels, pounding them with heavy artillery and cutting off supplies of water, power and natural gas.

As a result, the death toll doubled in two weeks, reaching 2,086 as of Aug. 10, the U.N. said. The rebels have been fighting back ferociously, answering the army's barrages with volleys of their own and resorting to guerrilla tactics.

As the conflict continued, a shell hit a prison on Aug. 11, killing one inmate and allowing more than 100 others to escape. Other shells have hit residential areas. Amid the violence, the U.N. said on Aug. 5 that 730,000 people had fled to Russia, while 120,000 escaped to other parts of Ukraine.



A Ukrainian soldier takes cover after firing a mortar round during fighting against separatists in eastern Ukraine

Attention now is focused on a convoy of nearly 300 trucks bound for the war zone from Russia. The Kremlin says the convoy is carrying humanitarian aid. But Ukrainian authorities, fearing that the trucks could become a bridgehead for a Russian invasion, have said they won't allow them to enter the country.

Kiev's Western allies share those concerns. The head of the NATO military alliance said there is a "high probability" of a Russian invasion, possibly under the guise of an aid mission. The rebel fighters may be under siege, but with roughly 20,000 Russian troops poised at the border and the convoy snaking toward Ukraine, the risk of a full-blown war in Europe has only grown.

POLL

DO YOU HAVE CONFIDENCE IN YOUR JUDICIARY?

Gallup posed the question to people in 28 African countries. Here's a sampling of those who said yes:



69%
Malawi



51%
Zimbabwe



39%
Uganda



22%
Congo



THE EXPLAINER ERDOGAN'S SECOND ACT

Turkish Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan was elected President on Aug. 10 in the country's first direct presidential vote, after party rules barred him from seeking a fourth term as Premier. His victory heralds a change in the balance of power between the two highest offices of the Turkish state.

REMAKING THE PRESIDENCY Currently held by Abdullah Gul, the post has traditionally been ceremonial, but Erdogan has vowed to continue to play an active role in Turkish politics, pointing to his mandate as the first President to be popularly elected instead of being chosen by parliament. He is expected to seek constitutional changes to formally create a U.S.-style executive presidency.

CHOOSING A SUCCESSOR Before taking office on Aug. 28, Erdogan will oversee the selection of a new leader of his party, who will likely become the next Prime Minister. He is expected to pick a staunch loyalist who would back his political agenda.

WHAT'S NEXT Erdogan's plans to centralize power have prompted concerns about creeping authoritarianism. His crackdown on antigovernment protesters last year and attempts to block access to YouTube and Twitter drew criticism at home and abroad.

ARGENTINA

'I didn't want to die without hugging him.'

ESTELA CARLOTTO, president of Grandmothers of Plaza de Mayo, a group searching for children stolen and illegally sent for adoption under the 1970s military junta in Argentina, after locating her missing grandson Ignacio Hurbán; he was the 114th grandchild to be "recovered" by the group.





Panda-monium

CHINA Ju Xiao, a giant panda housed at a zoo in Guangzhou, China, embraces a cub—one of three she delivered in July, according to the zoo, which unveiled the rare births on Aug. 12. The cubs—the world's only known surviving panda triplets—were conceived as part of China's artificial-breeding program to boost its panda population. The critically endangered animals have a notoriously low birthrate, and only about 1,600 remain in the wild. *Photograph by Liu Dawei—Xinhua Press/Corbis*

ROUNDUP

The World's Cybercrime Hot Spots

A group of Russian hackers has gathered 1.2 billion user-name-and-password combinations from Internet users since 2011, according to Hold Security, a cybersecurity firm. Cybercriminals in Russia and Eastern Europe are considered the most technologically advanced—but they are not alone. Below, other countries that have become known as bases for sophisticated hackers.



China

The government is suspected of hiring skilled domestic hackers to mount attacks abroad. In May, the U.S. accused five officials in China of leading an effort to target American firms.



Brazil

Experts say Brazil is an emerging cybercrime hot spot where criminals buy sophisticated software from Russia and Eastern Europe to steal private data like banking passwords.



Nigeria

The original home of scam emails, Nigeria has become a destination for international hacking syndicates, partly because authorities have been slow to crack down on cybercriminals.



Vietnam

The country's thriving tech sector has produced skilled hackers, experts say. Last year the U.S. charged a man from Ho Chi Minh City for his part in a \$200 million online credit-card fraud.

FRANCE

\$1.2
MILLION

Value of gold bars and coins allegedly stolen by three French construction workers who chanced upon the trove while working on a Normandy property



Trending In



PROGRESS

Professor Maryam Mirzakhani, an Iranian-born academic based in the U.S., became the first woman to win the Fields Medal, the world's top math prize



JUSTICE

Two leaders of the brutal 1970s Khmer Rouge regime were found guilty of crimes against humanity by a U.N.-backed court in Cambodia



RECOVERY

The Malaysian government took its troubled national airline private as it tries to revive the company after two high-profile disasters



TRAGEDY

Brazilian presidential candidate Eduardo Campos died in a plane crash near São Paulo on Aug. 13



World

The Accidental War

Entrenched interests drove Hamas and Israel to their deadliest impasse

BY KARL VICK/GAZA CITY

BEFORE BECOMING WHAT IT IS today—a shattered urban battlefield at the heart of an intractable war—the Gaza Strip was a refuge. The enclave beside the Mediterranean was one of two areas Palestinians fled to during the 1948 war that established Israel as a state. Today 70% of its 1.8 million residents count themselves as refugees of that conflict, a far higher proportion than in the terraced biblical hills of the West Bank, to which Palestinians also fled in 1948.

"We had a war," says Etty Hodefi Cohen, who works in Ashdod, an Israeli city within easy striking distance of Gaza rockets. "1948. We won. We thought it was decided."

It wasn't. The Israeli-Palestinian conflict refuses to be decided. They had yet another war over the past five weeks, one of the bloodiest in the centuries-long conflict and quite possibly the hardest to comprehend. From a distance, this latest Gaza war first appeared to be about murdered teenagers. Then it was about missiles, thousands of which were fired by Gaza militants in indiscriminate volleys toward Israel. Finally it was about tunnels—concrete-reinforced and more numerous than Israeli officials had thought—running under the sandy soil of the Gaza Strip toward Israel and delivering a threat captured by Israel Defense Forces surveillance video on July 17:

13 dark figures emerging from the earth carrying guns.

Two weeks later, after Israel declared the 32 tunnels eliminated, the fighting raged on and the number of deaths approached 2,000, almost all of them Palestinian, a quarter of them children. Successive cease-fires came, expired, then came again as both sides met in Cairo to talk about the terms of a lasting truce. The negotiations underlined the nagging question at the heart of the most devastating fight Gaza has yet seen: Why?

"I ask myself that question all the time," says Nahed Ferwana, 28, at the counter of a pharmacy in Shejaiya, where more than 70 people have died. "I still don't know."

The painful truth appears to be that the battle in Gaza was fought, as trench warfare tends to be, largely as a matter of routine. Neither side expected the fighting to resolve any of the core issues of the conflict, like the fate of the Gazan refugees or Israel's security from attacks. Rather, renewed fighting hinged on bureaucratic particulars institutionalized by decades of conflict. Among other things, Gaza's ruling Hamas party wanted Palestinian fishermen to be allowed not three but six nautical miles into the Mediterranean. Israel refused to address the request while under fire and demanded offshore inspections of all cargo headed to Gaza, to prevent—or more realistically,



ly, slow—militants' restocking their badly depleted missile stores.

"I call it the stupid war," says Raji Sourani, director of the Palestinian Center for Human Rights, his eyes flashing in rage as he speaks in the driveway of al-Shifa. Like every other medical facility in Gaza, al-Shifa was regularly overwhelmed during the war by arrivals of gurneys splattered with the blood of the wounded and the dead. "It's aimless."

It's also a deadly paradox. That Gaza's most lethal fight is

2,029

Total number of Palestinian and Israeli deaths in the Gaza war as of Aug. 12, according to a U.N. report



Thirty seconds over Gaza

Israeli forces often texted or called residents just before bombing their buildings

settlements Israel maintains there. Their presumed abductors were linked by Israeli security services to Hamas. In response, Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu sent thousands of troops into the West Bank with the goal of shutting down Hamas, arresting its activists and shuttering its offices. "There is no possibility of talking peace with Israel while, at the same time, establishing a unity government with Hamas, a terrorist organization that aspires to destroy Israel," Netanyahu said on June 14.

It was the biggest crackdown on the West Bank in a decade and widely seen by Palestinians as the start of the battle that finally moved to Gaza. The route ran through Israel itself. When the teens turned up dead on June 30, the cries for revenge were answered by Jewish extremists who within hours allegedly abducted and burned alive a 16-year-old Palestinian from East Jerusalem. The atrocity inflamed the Palestinian population that resides within Israel, where every fifth citizen is an Arab.

As the protests raged, Gaza militants offered solidarity: Hamas called for a third *intifadah*, while other factions fired rockets toward Israel. Netanyahu first warned Hamas to halt the fire, then launched a strike that killed six Hamas fighters. The next day, a new war was under way.

INVASIONS OF GAZA ARE SO routine that Israeli security officials refer to the usual of-
fensive operations as "cutting

the grass." But this one was different. Having commenced accidentally, it proceeded onto new ground with unusual vehemence.

Militants had found a chink in Israel's armor. In June 2006, Palestinians emerged from the earth just outside the Gaza perimeter and dragged into the hole a gangly Israeli private named Gilad Shalit. Five years later Netanyahu freed 1,027 Palestinian prisoners for the one Israeli. Hamas declared a "war of the tunnels," and kidnapping became a primary pre-occupation of Palestinian militants wherever Israelis were within reach. By the time the three Israeli teens were taken, Israeli security services had thwarted more than 60 kidnap plots. "Capture them? Why not?" says Samiha Ahmed Abu Ukal, 72, in Gaza City. "As much as we can! In order to free our sons from imprisonment."

So the battlefield was shaped by Israel and perforated by Hamas. The militants' massive strategic commitment to unguided missiles, once capable of inflicting significant casualties, proved largely impotent against Israel's Iron Dome missile-interception system. But by drawing Israeli ground troops onto their turf, as the surveillance footage of July 17 did, the militants could engage at close range. In the ground operation that followed, the number of Israeli soldiers killed in action—64—was more than 10 times the number killed by enemy fire in the 2008–09 offensive. Still, Palestinian civilians paid most dearly.

Israel's efforts to avoid "collateral damage"—including its making calls and sending texts to buildings about to be

also its hardest to trace makes it all the harder to end. Absent achievable goals, only exhaustion may finally force both sides to break the habit of war.

HOW DID THIS HAPPEN? MOSTLY by accident. The sequence began with a shotgun wedding. Hamas and Fatah, the odd couple of Palestinian factions—one Islamist, the other secular—had been feuding for eight years, having come to blows over who would rule in Gaza. Hamas prevailed, leaving Fatah with the West Bank, but on June 2 the two sides for-

mally ended their rift, installing a unity government that, tellingly, included no one from Hamas. Politically, the Islamic Resistance Movement, as it is formally known, was on its heels. Shut out by first one longtime sponsor, Iran, and then another, Egypt, Hamas began the summer at its lowest point ever.

And things were about to get worse. Ten days after the unity pact, three Israeli teens were kidnapped while hitchhiking in the West Bank, where they were studying religion in one of the 200 or so

bombed—go by the boards when a soldier is in danger of being abducted, according to Israeli officials and news reports. To try to prevent another Gilad Shalit incident, the Israeli military activates its “Hannibal procedure,” tossing aside precision munitions in favor of artillery barrages around the last place the presumed captive was seen, Israeli military officers say. More than 100 Palestinians were killed in such barrages in the southern city of Rafah, where a mortally wounded Israeli soldier was seen being dragged away.

The result was a level of violence new even to Gaza. While skeptical of civilian casualty counts being generated by a Ministry of Health controlled by Hamas, Netanyahu’s spokesman, Mark Regev, said the numerous tunnels and longer-range rockets necessitated Israel’s offensive. “They posed a formidable military threat that did require intensive combat operations,” Regev said. Polls showed that Jewish Israelis overwhelmingly supported Netanyahu’s conduct of the war.

Those who calculated the damage on the Palestinian side were shaken and angered. “The scale of destruction, death, density of fire—unprecedented,” says Sourani, the human-rights activist. “I’m 60. I’ve never, ever witnessed anything like it. You have entire areas razed—they don’t exist. You have 60 families razed—they don’t exist. We have 540,000 refugees in Gaza. Finally, there’s no safe haven in Gaza. Not a single place.”

This is both the image of Gaza and its perverse value.

In the starkest political terms, the civilian toll serves the Palestinians’ cause, un-



Attacking from below Hamas used tunnels to kidnap Israelis

derscoring its fundamental narrative that they are victims of Israel. In legal terms, the specifics would help the Palestinians if they try to bring Israel before the International Criminal Court, as some of their leaders have hinted they will. And in terms of international public opinion, the war energized those who promote a boycott of Israel, a blunt instrument that also accommodates degrees of the anti-Semitism that surfaced in some European protests against the war. Eight synagogues were attacked in France in recent weeks, anti-Semitic graffiti was sprayed on a Jewish neighborhood in Rome, and Jewish museums in Norway were ordered shut as a precaution.

But Israel benefited as well. Any battle against Hamas—whose unguided missiles constitute a war crime, according to legal experts—ensures that the subject at hand remains Israel’s security, a topic easier to address in the short term than peace talks, which collapsed this spring under their own deadweight. And in Gaza, says former military-intelligence

chief Amos Yadlin, Israel’s military delivers results. “We can use much more firepower” against the militants, says Yadlin. “We neutralize their main strategic forces and leave them, alone, without any achievement, without any demands, in their devastated place called Gaza.”

IF GAZA’S RUIN IS THE RESULT of routine interests playing out on both sides, the devastation this time, however, is so profound, it may have created a point of common interest and a new source of leverage for its hostile neighbors.

Israel wants the Palestinian Authority, which until now has operated only in the West

Bank, to take up key positions in Gaza. “Most Cabinet members understand that if Hamas is the problem—and it is—then [Palestinian Authority President] Mahmoud Abbas and those who do not use terror against us are part of the solution,” Justice Minister Tzipi Livni said on Israeli television on Aug. 8.

Abbas, who heads Fatah, is a moderate and preferred by Washington, which has mostly watched the latest war from the sidelines. Also backing Abbas are Arab leaders—in Saudi Arabia, in much of the Gulf and, most important, in Egypt—who loathe the Muslim Brotherhood, from which Hamas sprang. All favor seeing his Palestinian Authority take charge of Gaza, even now that it includes Hamas. Turns out the unity deal isn’t such a bad idea after all.

“We are praying to God to make them united,” says Abu Ukal, the elderly Gaza woman who spoke up for the tunnels. Born in a village just outside Gaza, she tells of her father’s selling land to buy a gun, the central narrative of the Palestinian national struggle she has repeated to her children and grandchildren. But it’s not what’s on her mind just now, on the steps of a clinic at al-Shifa. Never, Abu Ukal says, has she seen fighting like that in recent weeks. Her priority, she reports, is the same one that prompted Netanyahu to launch the first air strikes, in hopes that children in southern Israel would not have to sleep in their shoes.

“We need to live in some kind of stability,” the old woman says. “We get really tired from war after war after war.” —WITH REPORTING BY AARON J. KLEIN/TEL AVIV AND YONIT FARAGO/HOLON ■

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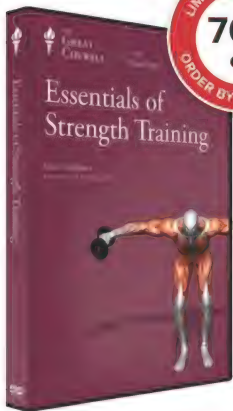
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Nation



Ready for battle Police in riot gear patrol Ferguson, Mo., on Aug. 17 during a protest over the deadly shooting

Fatal Encounter A police shooting in Missouri puts the spotlight on race and lethal force

BY DAVID VON DREHLE

IN A SUBURB OF ST. LOUIS, MICHAEL Brown, 18, an unarmed black teenager, was shot to death by a police officer on the sunny afternoon of Aug. 9. Two days later, near dusk in South Los Angeles, Ezell Ford, a black man in his mid-20s, was shot to death by a police officer. His family says he was unarmed. Last fall, in a subdivision near Charlotte, N.C., Jonathan Ferrell, 24, an unarmed black man, was shot to death by a police officer.

In a country still sorting through the emotions stirred by the 2012 shooting death of Trayvon Martin, an unarmed black teen confronted by a neighborhood-watch volunteer in Sanford, Fla.—a coun-

try rattled by a disturbing video of Eric Garner, 43, an unarmed black man, dying after an apparent police choke hold on July 17 in Staten Island, N.Y.—it would be useful to know how often this happens. Are police resorting more quickly to lethal means, and if so, against whom?

But that's data the U.S. declines to collect. The federal government can tell us how many pounds of boysenberries Americans harvest and how many hours per day the average American woman spends gardening. Yet no agency is tracking the number of people killed by police.

Brown's death brought hundreds of protesters into the streets of St. Louis

County, and what began as a peaceful vigil turned into a night of arson and looting followed by days of tension and distrust. While officers in riot gear patrolled the streets of Ferguson, Mo., firing occasional bursts of tear gas and volleys of rubber bullets, local investigators and the FBI refused to release details of the fatal encounter. The officer who shot Brown has been placed on paid leave, but officials have declined to release his name, citing threats to his safety.

The information vacuum was filled by the testimony of Brown's companion on the day he died. Dorian Johnson, 22, told his story to a number of media outlets,

including TIME: They were minding their own business when a passing Ferguson police officer rudely ordered them off the street where they were walking and onto the sidewalk. With little provocation, the officer then grabbed Brown around the throat. Brown struggled to free himself, and the officer drew his gun and started firing.

You can safely bet that further details and testimony will emerge from the investigation to turn this clear-cut outrage a murky gray. It's rare that official inquiries into shootings by police find no justification for the use of deadly force. And most Americans are willing to give some slack to the men and women who guard the public safety. Still, if the eruption in Missouri helps put a spotlight on the subject of police shootings, some good will come of it.

The root of the problem is lack of training and accountability. Researchers who have gathered the data that the government won't collect have found that better training and discipline can sharply reduce the use of lethal force without endangering cops on the beat. Independent researcher Jim Fisher, who counted 1,146 U.S. police shootings—607 of them fatal—in 2011, noted the hopeful fact that New York City reduced the number of police shootings from 314 in 1971 to 16 in 2012. How? Careful hiring and training of officers.

As they say in the recovery movement, the first step is admitting the problem. For St. Louis, that problem includes a long history of friction between white and black residents in a city that is defined by borders and boundaries. Its signature arch is meant to remind us that St. Louis is the place where the East ended and the West began. But its sitting near the midpoint of the Mississippi also put St. Louis on the seam between North and South.

The history of St. Louis is burdened by a hyperconsciousness of dividing lines. The Dred Scott case of 1857—that spark in the powder keg of the Civil War—began in St. Louis as a question of whether a man's human rights evaporated when he crossed the border into a slave state. In the decades since, few cities have taken a more systematic approach to racial separation.

In 1916 the city passed a zoning law that explicitly limited where blacks could buy homes. When the Supreme Court invalidated

racial zoning laws the following year, the St. Louis Real Estate Exchange responded with a plan to concentrate blacks in certain neighborhoods. Many white homeowners, meanwhile, signed restrictive covenants forbidding them to sell their houses to black buyers.

Eventually that strategy failed as well. In 1948 the Supreme Court heard the case of an African-American family in St. Louis whose home purchase was blocked when a white neighbor sued to enforce a restrictive covenant. In an early victory for civil rights legend Thurgood Marshall, the court ruled that such covenants are unenforceable.

Next came redlining, the practice of steering black buyers into certain neighborhoods by discriminating on their mortgage applications. And through it all, white homeowners accelerated the division by moving away from the city center and into predominantly white suburbs—the same white flight that remade American metros from coast to coast after World War II.

The shooting of Brown and the violence that followed happened smack on one of those borders. Ferguson is an inner ring suburb that is neither black nor white. In its 6 sq. mi., the city of some 21,000 encompasses rough-around-the-edges homes and turn-of-the-century Victorian manors. The population is roughly two-thirds African American and one-third Caucasian, and while relations among neighbors can be harmonious, the black experience of the mostly white city government and police force is often tense.

A study of police traffic stops by the Missouri attorney general found that Ferguson police tend to stop blacks disproportionately. "Ferguson is notorious for being prejudiced against blacks," says George Chapman, a 50-year-old African American who has lived in the town most of his life but said he recently moved because he was "tired of the police."

Yet many residents were dismayed to find that their city was now known for glass shards, looted shelves and armor-clad riot police. "This isn't what Ferguson is about," says one resident, Shante Duncan, 33. "This is a good community." And like communities across the country, this one is looking to police for some candid answers to a painful problem. —WITH REPORTING BY KRISTINA SAUERWEIN/FERGUSON

The Rundown

GAY MARRIAGE On Aug. 11 a Tennessee judge upheld the state's ban on same-sex marriage, the first such law to survive a legal challenge since the Supreme Court overturned the Defense of Marriage Act in 2013. Circuit Judge Russell Simmons Jr. ruled that Tennessee isn't obligated to recognize the union of two men in Iowa because neither the federal government nor another state can "dictate to Tennessee what has traditionally been a state's responsibility."

MILITARY Defense Secretary Chuck Hagel said on Aug. 11 that the military is walking back restrictions on hairstyles popular among black women after new regulations drew criticism for racial insensitivity. Grooming standards introduced in March banned such hairstyles as dreadlocks, twists and afros.

GAMBLING

4

The number of casinos set to close in Atlantic City, N.J., this year because of dwindling profits and increased national competition. The latest to fold is the splashy, two-year-old, \$2.4 billion Revel. Revenue at U.S. casinos stayed flat in 2013, while the number of gaming halls has continued to grow.

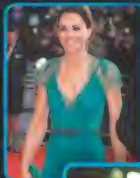
CITIES Two German artists said they replaced the American flags over the Brooklyn Bridge with white flags on July 22 as an art project, providing pictures and video of the flags to bolster their claim. New York City police are continuing to investigate the matter.

607

The number of fatal police shootings in the U.S. in 2011, out of a total of 1,146



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Milestones

DIED

Lauren Bacall Hollywood Icon

At 15, she once recalled, she was "tall, ungainly ... with big feet, flat-chested." A few years made all the difference for Brooklyn-born Betty Perske: At 18 she was a *Harper's Bazaar* cover girl. At 19 she starred in her first film, *To Have and Have Not*. And at 20 she wed her 45-year-old leading man, Bogie and Betty Humphrey Bogart and (her movie name) Lauren Bacall: a love affair for the ages.

Actually, their marriage lasted less than a dozen years, ending with Bogart's death from cancer in 1957. But both forged their legende in the '40s, starring together in *The Big Sleep*, *Dark Passage* and *Key Largo*—taut melodramas that sizzled from the match of his weary machismo and her playful allure. Bacall, who died Aug. 12 in New York City at 89, was Hollywood glamour on ice. She had a sultry voice whose register she lowered by shouting book passages for days in the Hollywood hills, and eyes that leered through a man's ego and into his id. No young actress was ever so brash and seductive as Bacall in her screen debut, telling Bogart how to whistle: "You just put your lips together and ... blow."

In her middle years this tough cookie took Broadway (*Applause*, *Woman of the Year*) and graced the all-star *Murder on the Orient Express*. Her most savvy late role was as Barbra Streisand's haughty mother in 1996's *The Mirror Has Two Faces*. Dowdy Barbra asks resplendent Betty, "How did it feel to be beautiful?" And Bacall's face softens into a glow: "It was wonderful!" —RICHARD CORLISS

DIED

James 'Jim' Brady

Former White House press secretary

By Nancy Reagan

Ronnie and I could tell there was something special about Jim Brady, who died Aug. 4 at 73, from the moment we met him. He had a certain twinkle in his eye and a way of letting you know that he knew what he was doing and everything would be all right. He had a zest for life that was infectious. He loved to hear or tell a good story, laughed easily, could see the silver lining in even the darkest cloud and made the best chili in town!

When it was time to be serious, Jim was. Often, in a three-piece suit, notebook and pencil in hand, Jim was at Ronnie's side, listening intently, brow furrowed in concentration, taking detailed notes so he could brief the press on whatever had transpired. And when Jim gave advice, Ronnie and I listened, because we knew that he had the best instincts in town.

It broke Ronnie's and my heart that Jim and Sarah were forced to face such adversity [after he was seriously wounded during the 1981 assassination attempt on President Reagan]. But they never complained. Jim was a patriot. He loved his country and was proud to serve. Ronnie insisted that Jim remain his press secretary, because it was the right thing to do and the White House just did not seem complete without Jim. He and Sarah became dear friends. I miss Jim and pray for Sarah.

Reagan is a former First Lady and the widow of President Ronald Reagan



President-elect Reagan and wife Nancy with Brady, far right, in January 1981



Frederick represented the very best of TIME

DIED

Jim Frederick

Writer, editor, mentor

When a writer dies young—and Jim Frederick, who died of cardiac arrest July 31 in Oakland, Calif., at 42, was very young—we mourn the work that will never be. As a writer and editor at *MONEY* and *TIME*, Jim produced penetrating stories about whatever caught his attention. He'll be remembered for his masterpiece, the Iraq War book *Black Hearts*. The *Guardian* called it the best book to come out of the conflict—no small feat, as shelves groan from volumes of memoir, reportage and fiction gleaned from those

years and that place.

But for those who knew Jim, the loss of the work is secondary. Jim had an enormous talent for friendship, which is why so many people, in so many places, were left bereft by his loss. In Tokyo, in London and in New York, he served as a mentor and as a role model for countless young journalists. When Jim took over as the international editor of *TIME* in 2011, I asked for a transfer to that side of the magazine, almost solely for the chance to work with Jim. I'm glad I did. —BRYAN WALSH

DIED

Sprint car driver Kevin Ward Jr., 20, who was struck by NASCAR champion Tony Stewart's car during a race in upstate New York; Ward had exited his crashed car and stalked onto the track to confront Stewart.

RESCUED

Twenty-four roller-coaster passengers, from the Joker's Jinx at Six Flags in Maryland, stalled near the top of the ride. It took five hours to safely remove everyone; no injuries were reported.

TURNED DOWN

Bruce Davis, 71, for parole, by California Governor Jerry Brown, reversing a parole-board decision. Davis has served more than 43 years for involvement in two 1969 Manson "family" murders.

LEAKED

Federal documents detailing the expansion of the terrorist-watch-list database, reportedly by someone other than Edward Snowden, since they are dated after he left the U.S.

WON

The PGA Championship at Valhalla Golf Club in Louisville, Ky., by Northern Irish golfer Rory McIlroy. It's his fourth major title and comes just weeks after his victory at the British Open.



FIRED

All employees over the age of 35 at India's national public radio broadcaster. Some may be allowed to stay, provided they pass a test indicating that they don't sound "too mature and boring."

Walter Isaacson

Don't Run Out the Clock

Barack Obama can still secure his legacy

A QUESTION THAT FACES PRESIDENT Obama, however the midterm elections turn out, is whether he's going to play his final two years as the back nine of a casual afternoon of golf, coasting toward the clubhouse of former Presidents, or as the final quarter of a tight basketball game.

When I was working with Steve Jobs on a biography in 2009, he had an inkling that he might have only a couple of active years left. As his cancer kept recurring, instead of slowing him, it spurred him on. In those two years, he refined the iPhone and launched the iPad, thus ushering in the era of mobile computing.

Obama has scored two monumental achievements: helping restore the financial system after the 2008 collapse and making it possible for all Americans to get health care coverage, even if they leave their job or have pre-existing conditions. Obamacare may be undermined if the Supreme Court guts subsidies for the federal exchanges. If so, the sweeping nature of the reform will survive only if Obama mounts a rousing, state-by-state campaign to rally passion for protecting the new health benefits.

As for rescuing the economy, this could be remembered as a hollow victory unless the recovery restores economic opportunity for all Americans. Growing inequality—of income, wealth and opportunity—is the economic, political and moral issue of our time. The fundamental creed of America is that if you work hard and play by the rules, you can support your family with dignity and believe that your children will have an even better future. But that is being lost as the middle class continues to be hollowed out and the poor get left further behind.

FROM THE POPE TO THOMAS PIKETTY, AND FROM Paul Ryan to Rand Paul, there has been a renewed focus on the moral imperative of economic opportunity. Obama seems ready to make that the defining passion of his final two years. Fighting for a fair deal for every American goes to the core of what he believes, rounds out the narrative of his presidency, secures his historical legacy and leads naturally into what is likely to be the mission of his postpresidency.

The foundation for such a crusade could be a simple goal, one with moral clarity and patriotic

ON OBAMA'S AGENDA



HEALTH CARE

Courts are chipping away at Obama's signature domestic achievement, health care reform. The President may need to mount a state-by-state campaign to protect Obamacare.



OPPORTUNITY

Economic inequality has become the moral issue of our time. The President's efforts to restore the financial system may be judged hollow by history if inequality persists.

resonance: that every kid in this country deserves a decent shot. Obama's got a fresh team in place, and he's already proposed many elements of an opportunity agenda in his remarks on the My Brother's Keeper initiative and other speeches. Among them: Universal preschool, so that no child starts off behind. Quality after-school activities and summer internships. Apprentice programs like those supported by a bill proposed by Senators Cory Booker and Tim Scott. What also could be included is a public-private effort to create a service-year program so that every kid after high school or college has the opportunity to spend a year serving their country in a military or domestic corps.

I'VE BEEN READING DORIS KEARNS GOODWIN's magisterial narrative of the Teddy Roosevelt era, *The Bully Pulpit*. In 1903, Roosevelt felt a fierce urge to energize the American people around what he dubbed his "Square Deal for every man, great or small, rich or poor." He spent nine weeks crossing the country by train, delivering 265 speeches. Most were carefully crafted explanations of why corporate trusts needed to be reined in and workers needed to be respected. But when he arrived at the Grand Canyon, he began adding passionate calls to protect the environment and preserve nature. The trip not only refreshed his presidency, it also refreshed him personally. The old boxer relished not only the "bully pulpit" but also being "in the arena."

It's probably not feasible for Obama to embark on a weeks-long whistle-stop tour barnstorming for a new Fair Deal and a dedication to preserving the planet, though it would sure be fun to watch. It's hard to break through all the static, but after the midterms, it may be possible for him to propound a narrative that ties together his proposals for economic opportunity, poverty reduction and immigration. A vision of a land of opportunity would appeal to most Republicans as well as Democrats.

For the final two years of his term, Obama could stay above the fray and recognize that it would be pointless, given the dysfunctional nature of Congress, to try to accomplish anything significant. A rational calculus of risks and rewards and a sober assessment of the possibilities for accomplishing anything in Washington would argue for that approach. But I can't help but hope that he decides to race against the clock rather than run it out. ■

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Last Tango in Buenos Aires

Argentina's debt snarl tells us how risky the global financial system still is



THERE'S A LEGAL ADAGE THAT GOES, "Hard cases make bad law." A recent U.S. court ruling against Argentina, which pushed the country into a new technical default on its sovereign debt, is a case in point. In 2001, Argentina defaulted on \$80 billion worth of sovereign debt, the bonds that a country issues to raise money. It had to restructure, just as Greece had to more recently, and over the years, some 93% of creditors went along with the cut-rate deals, taking "exchange" bonds that paid 30¢ on the dollar. But some, like Elliott Management, the hedge fund started by Wall Street titan Paul Singer, held out. Tens of millions of dollars in legal fees later, Elliott won its case.

U.S. federal judge Thomas Griesa ruled earlier this summer that unless Argentina paid creditors like Elliott and other holdouts 100% of their claims, it couldn't pay anybody else either. Paying Elliott in full would mean that, contractually, the country would also have to pay everyone else in full too—a \$29 billion commitment. The case is full of gnarly legal and financial issues. But what it tells us is dead simple: the world financial order is still far too complex and opaque.

IT'S TOUGH TO CRY FOR ARGENTINA—OR THE hedge funds. Elliott says Argentina's claim that it has been victimized by "vulture funds" is a populist political strategy to drum up support for President Cristina Fernández de Kirchner's flagging party. "Argentina isn't a poor country. It's a G-20 nation," says Jay Newman, Elliott's Argentina portfolio manager. "It's chosen for political reasons not to negotiate a fair settlement with us or more than 61,000 other bondholders." Certainly no one would argue that the Argentine government is a paragon of best practices; Argentina, which had the same per capita GDP as Switzerland in the 1950s, has defaulted eight times.

Then again, the vultures haven't done so badly either. Many bought bonds postdefault for pennies on the dollar. Now they are eschewing an already rich return for a regal one, while setting a precedent that could make creditors reluctant to cooperate when nations default in the future. "This has become a morality play which has given rise to a host of new legal problems," says Jonathan Blackman, the Cleary Gottlieb partner defending Argentina. Both sides are waging an ugly media war complete

Argentine President Cristina Fernández de Kirchner



BORROW, RENEGE, REPEAT

8

The number of times Argentina has defaulted on its debt obligations; the first instance was in 1827

103%

Government debt as a percentage of the GDP of the world's leading economies, up from 71% at the end of 2007

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with ad campaigns, as thousands of other creditors and financial institutions around the world nervously await the final result.

THE ARGENTINE CRISIS SAYS THREE IMPORTANT things about the global economy. First, the balance between creditors and debtors has shifted. As data from the McKinsey Global Institute (MGI) show, there's more debt globally than there was before the 2008 financial crisis. But now, the largest portion of it consists of public-sector debt. "Debt in the economy is like a balloon," explains Susan Lund, a partner at MGI. "When you squeeze it out of one place, it grows in another." With the rise in public debt comes a greater risk of sovereign defaults, which can wreak havoc on the global economy. (Remember the euro crisis?)

Second, the global economy is becoming more fragmented. The fact that a federal court in New York City ruled in favor of the holdouts is a sign that the global economy is splitting along national and ideological lines: British courts tend to go with majority rule in sovereign cases, and local markets have any number of other ways of handling sovereign-debt deals. The BRIC nations, aside from increasingly cutting their own trade deals, have set up a new development bank, which may become a source of capital for countries like Argentina if they remain shut out of the Western credit markets. That could give Russia and China more leverage over, for example, Argentina's natural resources. (The country has the world's second largest shale-gas deposit.)

Finally, the case shows how much work remains to be done in making our financial system more transparent. In addition to establishing a single standard for sovereign default, we desperately need to make complex security holdings more visible. Academics like Joseph Stiglitz say Elliott Management actually stands to benefit from an Argentine default, since nearly \$1 billion worth of credit-default swaps exist on the country; that's insurance that will pay out now that Argentina has defaulted. While the Elliott subsidiary that went to court against Buenos Aires says it holds no such swaps, the hedge-fund firm as a whole doesn't disclose trading positions, and the swaps holdings of individual companies aren't public record. They should be. Knowing exactly who stands to gain—or lose—from fiscal turmoil that can affect all of us could help make the right fixes at least a little more apparent.

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NFL Concussion Settlement

All Valid Claims of Retired NFL Football Players to be Paid in Full for 65 Years
Monetary Awards, Baseline Medical Exams and Other Benefits Provided



Who is included in the Settlement?

The NFL and NFL Properties have agreed to a class action Settlement with retired players who sued, accusing them of failing to warn of and hiding the dangers of brain injury associated with playing football. The Settlement does not establish any wrongdoing on the part of the NFL or NFL Properties.

What does the Settlement provide?

The Settlement provides money for three benefits:

- Baseline medical exams to determine if retired players suffer from neurocognitive impairment and are entitled to additional testing and/or treatment (\$75 million),
- Monetary awards for diagnoses of ALS (Lou Gehrig's disease), Alzheimer's Disease, Parkinson's Disease, Dementia and certain cases of chronic traumatic encephalopathy or CTE (a neuropathological finding) diagnosed after death. The maximum monetary awards range from \$1.5 million to \$5 million depending on the diagnosis. All valid claims will be paid in full for 65 years; and
- Education programs and initiatives related to football safety (\$10 million).

How can I get benefits?

You will need to register for benefits after the final approval of the Settlement. You may provide your contact information now at the website or phone number below to ensure that you receive additional notice about the registration process.

Retired players do not have to prove that their injuries were caused by playing NFL football to get money from the Settlement.

What are my rights?

You do not need to do anything to be included in the Settlement Class. All Settlement Class members will be bound by the Settlement and give up the right to sue the NFL individually. If you want to keep your right to sue the NFL, you must exclude yourself from the Class by **October 14, 2014**. If you exclude yourself, you will not receive any benefits under the Settlement. If you stay in the Class, you may object to the Settlement by **October 14, 2014**.

The Court will hold a hearing on **November 19, 2014** to consider whether to approve the Settlement. You do not have to attend. However, you and/or your own lawyer may attend and request to speak at the hearing at your own expense. At a later date, the attorneys will ask the Court for an award of attorneys' fees and reasonable costs. The NFL and NFL Properties have agreed not to oppose or object to the request if the request does not exceed \$112.5 million. The money would be paid by the NFL and NFL Properties in addition to the payments described above.

Please Share this Notice with Other Players and Their Families

For More Information and to Register for Benefits:
1-855-887-3485 or www.NFLConcussionSettlement.com

An Evil That Must Be Stopped

ISIS is the most serious threat to American interests in a decade. Why we must counter it



RYAN CROCKER, WHO PROBABLY knows the Middle East better than any other living American diplomat, recently cut to the chase about the situation in Iraq. "This is about America's national security," he told the *New York Times*. "We don't understand real evil, organized evil, very well. This is evil incarnate. People like [ISIS leader] Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi have been in a fight for a decade. They are messianic in their vision, and they are not going to stop."

We've been in the fight for more than a decade too. It began as a proportionate attempt to retaliate against those who attacked America on Sept. 11, 2001. We successfully ousted the Taliban government that supported Osama bin Laden in Afghanistan, but Osama and many of his top aides escaped. The war against al-Qaeda should have continued as a targeted special-forces operation, but the flagrantly disproportionate Bush-Cheney invasion of Iraq changed all that...and the Obama surge in Afghanistan didn't help much, either. Suddenly we found ourselves locked in the middle of civil wars in both countries (or perhaps I should say "countries"). The President was right to extricate our combat troops from those futile fights.

BUT THE RISE OF THE ISLAMIC STATE IN IRAQ and Syria (ISIS—or the Levant, ISIL, if you prefer) has changed the game again. Terrorism has a new name, and now, for the first time, it has a well-organized, well-funded, well-armed military with the ability to take and perhaps hold territory. There have been reports of al-Qaeda elements linking up with the Islamic State. There are reports of hundreds of would-be jihadists from around the world joining ISIS, including dozens from the U.S. ISIS is considered so extreme that Ayman al-Zawahiri, the leader of al-Qaeda's central command, has condemned it. The Islamic State is metastasizing and committing mass atrocities with astonishing ferocity. It aspires to attack the U.S. and will, no doubt, soon attempt to do so. This is a threat we cannot ignore.

Yes, we're sick of war, sick of the region and particularly sick of Iraq—but, as seemed clear in the days after 9/11, and less clear since, this is a struggle that is going to be with us for a very long time. It doesn't need to be the thunderous, all-consuming fight that the Bush-Cheney government made it out

AN EXPANDING FOOTPRINT

FORCES

ISIS's estimated 10,000 fighters rely on weapons drawn mostly from U.S. and Iraqi stocks; they include 50 pieces of artillery, six helicopters and more than 150 humvees

GENOCIDE

Known for their slaughter of Shi'ite and other religious minorities, ISIS forces killed at least 500 members of Iraq's Yazidi sect in one week in early August



ISIS leader Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi, in a rare public appearance at a Mosul mosque

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to be. It will require a strategic rethink of who our friends and enemies are in the region. We may find that Iran is part of the ISIS solution rather than part of the problem—a problem that Saudi Arabia's support for Sunni extremism helped create. We may even find ourselves on the same side as Syria's disgraceful Bashar Assad: ISIS is the greatest threat to his continued rule.

There are real dangers here. We don't want to take sides in what may well become a cataclysmic regional war between Sunni and Shi'ite. We don't want to become the "air force of Shi'ite militias," as former CIA director David Petraeus has said. The best way forward would be to work through a reconstituted Iraqi government, led by newly appointed Prime Minister Haider al-Abadi. But we've seen the danger of arming the Iraqis in the past; those arms are now being used against us by ISIS. In the best-case scenario, al-Abadi builds a government that wins back the trust of Iraq's Sunnis, but that won't happen overnight.

In the worst-case scenario, the U.S. military would have to fight the Islamic State from a Kurdish base; support for the *peshmerga* forces is essential. Any direct U.S. military action should be measured and proportionate—an insinuation rather than an invasion, taken in concert with allies who are capable of sophisticated covert operations. This time, as opposed to 2003, more than a few of the regional players on both sides of the sectarian divide want our help in the war on ISIS. The President may hope that he can keep U.S. involvement at current levels—air strikes and the presence of 800 special operators on the ground, who are mostly scouting the enemy and working up new targeting sets. But no one should be surprised if we find ourselves on a slippery slope toward more violence. There will be no escaping this fight, unfortunately.

THERE HAS BEEN ENDLESS DEBATE ABOUT WHO "lost" Iraq and Syria. Even Hillary Clinton and Barack Obama are squabbling about it. We don't have the luxury of wasting time or political energy on that now. There is not a politician, policymaker or journalist who hasn't been wrong about Iraq at some point. What's needed is a clear and united sense of national purpose...as clear and united as it was on Sept. 12, 2001. Our war against al-Qaeda-style extremism isn't over; it may have only just begun.

WORLD

**STOPPING AN "ACT
OF GENOCIDE"**

*Yezidi women who fled
from ISIS into Iraq's
Sinjar Mountains wait
for the arrival of a
rescue helicopter*

**Photographs by
Moises Saman
for TIME**



Into Kurdistan

Obama sends the U.S. military to repel a gruesome terrorist army **By Michael Crowley**



THE KURDISH WORD *PESHMERGA* translates as “one who faces death.” It is an apt description for the ethnic militiamen who defend the Kurdish territory in Iraq’s rugged north. They are known as some of the Middle East’s most fearsome and dedicated fighters, qualities that are useful among a people who say they have “no friends but the mountains.” In a region where women often cannot hold jobs or drive cars, their devotion is evident in the females who wear fatigues and carry Kalashnikovs in frontline *peshmerga* units.

But even the *peshmerga* were no match for the fanatical jihadis of the Islamic State of Iraq and Greater Syria (ISIS) as they stormed into Kurdish areas of northern Iraq in early August. Fighting with U.S.-made weapons and armored vehicles seized from abandoned Iraqi army positions in June, ISIS routed the outgunned Kurds and advanced to within 20 miles (32 km) of the Kurdish capital of Erbil. Panic gripped the city’s 1 million residents, who are all too familiar with ISIS’s appetite for murder, beheading and crucifixion.

Days later, the Kurds stormed back—this time with American-supplied weapons and the help of U.S. drones and jets, which destroyed ISIS convoys and artillery. It was America’s first acknowledged attack in Iraq since the last U.S. troops left the country in December 2011 and, for Barack Obama, a day he’d tried hard to avoid. For weeks, Obama had refused to strike ISIS as the brutal al-Qaeda splinter group rampaged through northern Iraq and declared an Islamic caliphate spanning the Iraq-Syria border.

But Obama would not risk seeing Erbil fall. However much he hates returning to Iraq, Obama has decided that defending the Kurds is worth it. (He is also considering a small ground force to rescue thousands of ethnic Yazidis trapped on a mountain.) In doing so, he has opened a new chapter in the history of the U.S.’s fickle relationship with the beleaguered Kurds, one that could mark a major shift for the Middle East.

That’s because, having rescued the Kurds, Obama is now partnering with them. As American weapons flow to Erbil, Kurdish fighters and territory are proving critical to the U.S. effort to stop ISIS’s terroristic thugs. “Kurdistan provides a base from which we could run a major counterterrorism campaign against ISIS,” says Kenneth Pollack, a former CIA analyst now with the Brookings Institution. After decades of struggling for U.S. attention, the Kurds finally have it.



RESCUE GONE WRONG

A wounded man is carried from the crash site of an Iraqi air force helicopter that went down during a rescue mission in the Sinjar Mountains



Provide Comfort, Not Independence

A STATELESS MOUNTAIN PEOPLE MIGHT seem an unlikely partner in the fight against terrorism. But the Kurds may be America's most reliable Middle Eastern ally outside of Israel—which is all the more striking given how often the U.S. has let them down.

The Kurds are among the world's largest ethnic groups without their own state. Numbering around 25 million and with a distinct culture and language, they are clustered in the mountainous region where Syria, Turkey, Iran and Iraq converge. They are not Arabs but can claim the great Islamic warrior Saladin—a historic giant who repelled the European crusaders in the 12th century—as one of their own. Most Kurds are Sunni Muslims, sharing the faith of ISIS but none of the savage fundamentalism.

Woodrow Wilson was the first U.S. President to thrill the Kurds, with his talk of independent nations rising from the ruins of the Ottoman Empire after World War I. But the U.S. later accepted European-drawn borders in the Middle East that remorselessly split up Kurdish land among four nations and rendered them a suspect minority in all.

As the Kurds struggled—sometimes violently—for independence throughout the 20th century, Washington lent no support, except when it was convenient. Henry Kissinger urged the Kurds to rebel against Saddam Hussein in 1972, when the U.S. was aligned with the Shah of neighboring Iran, only to abandon them when priorities changed. ("Even in the context of covert action, ours was a cynical enterprise," a congressional panel later found.) Ronald Reagan ignored Saddam's use of poison gas on the Kurds in 1987 and 1988 because Iraq was at war with the U.S.'s then enemy Iran.

And it was a small irony that the first American F/A-18 jets to strike ISIS positions near Erbil on Aug. 8 were launched from the deck of the U.S.S. *George H.W. Bush*. It was the elder Bush who last rode to the Kurds' rescue, saving them from another massacre at the hands of Saddam. The Kurds had risen up again after the 1991 Gulf War, prompting Saddam to use tanks and helicopters to slay them by the thousands. Some 750,000 Kurds fled into squalid mountain refugee camps. On April 6, 1991, the U.S. and its allies launched Operation Provide Comfort, which created a safe haven for the Kurds in northern Iraq enforced by fighter jets in the skies above.

It was one of history's biggest humanitarian interventions. But the heroism was complicated by Bush's responsibility for the crisis. The Kurds had rebelled only after Bush made unscripted public comments encouraging Iraqis to do so. The Kurds acted on the assumption that the U.S. military would be behind them. It was not. Like Obama, Bush had thought he was finished with Iraq and had no desire to become entangled there. But media images of starving women and children moved Bush to act. The safe zone he created endured and expanded over the next decade, providing the Kurds with something close to autonomy from Baghdad.

From Salvation to Transformation

THE KURDS HAD NEVER LOOKED QUITE AS useful to the U.S. as they did in 2002, when George W. Bush planned to invade Iraq. The U.S. brought Kurdish leaders to a secret Virginia facility that summer to seek their help. The Kurds were initially suspicious that the U.S. might burn them yet again. But the prospect of toppling Saddam was too good to resist, and they offered intelligence and coordination. U.S. Special Forces even fought side by side with the *peshmerga*, who were seasoned from years of battle with Saddam's military. But the Kurds soon learned that the U.S. plan for a post-Saddam Iraq did not include their independence. Washington did not want to tamper with the region's borders, particularly when an important ally, Turkey—where Kurdish insurgents make territorial claims—was adamantly opposed.

As Iraq became a nightmare after 2003, the Kurds protected their borders and quietly built an oasis of calm and prosperity. Construction exploded, luxury hotels sprouted, and nightclubs and prostitutes proliferated. In a relatively secular society where women can sport skinny jeans and uncovered hair, designer clothes and luxury cars were soon available in Erbil. Kurds began referring to their region as "the other Iraq." The Kurdish philosophy was, in effect, that success is the best revenge.

Driving this transformation was oil. It was always typical of Kurdish luck that they should live in an oil-rich region but reap none of the profit. That has changed. Although Saddam's regime largely ignored Kurdistan's oil reserves, his fall opened the door for energy multinationals like Chevron and ExxonMobil to flock to the politically stable and Western-friendly area. (So did thousands of Western workers, whose

presence surely helped compel President Obama to take military action.) Kurdistan now produces about 10% of Iraq's oil—more than 350,000 barrels per day.

Along with economic growth came vast autonomy. The Kurds have their own parliament and border guards, not to mention the *peshmerga*. But neither Baghdad nor Washington will grant the Kurds the full independence they have sought for a century. U.S. officials believe the breakup of Iraq will produce only more chaos and bloodshed. Framing it as a matter of Kurdish self-interest, U.S. officials also warn that because Iraq's south produces so much oil, the Kurds stand to lose some \$10 billion in annual shared revenue by going it alone. (The Kurds complain that Baghdad doesn't distribute national oil revenue fairly and say they want to sell their local oil directly. Washington has blocked them.)

ISIS has changed the game. And so once more a U.S. President looks to Erbil for allies and advantage. "The Kurdish region is functional the way we would like to see," Obama told New York Times columnist Thomas Friedman on Aug. 8. "It is tolerant of other sects and other religions in a way that we would like to see elsewhere. So we do think it's important to make sure that that space is protected."

Those Who Face Death

PROTECT IT HE HAS, WITH U.S. DRONES and fighter jets that have mounted dozens of strikes against ISIS forces threatening Kurdish population areas. In his Aug. 7 address to the nation, Obama said he was also acting to rescue thousands of Yazidis—members of an obscure, ancient religious sect—who were driven to the top of Mount Sinjar, 150 miles (240 km) west of Erbil, and surrounded by ISIS. Some U.S. air strikes, along with airdrops of food and water, were designed to prevent a possible "act of genocide" against the Yazidis, Obama said.

The Yazidi plight offered a compelling humanitarian rationale for action. (So did the need to protect U.S. diplomats and military advisers stationed in Erbil: an unchecked ISIS advance could have produced something exponentially worse than Benghazi.) But to many observers, what really drove Obama to act was a belief that Kurdistan is worth fighting for—and fighting with—in the newest front against Islamist terrorists. "We need to think about Kurdistan as a critical strategic asset in a region that is falling apart," says Pollack. "It would be willing to host





**FLEEING
CERTAIN DEATH**

As ISIS approached, thousands of Yazidis endured misery in the Sinjar Mountains. Some escaped to Syria and into Kurdish areas

an American military presence that can give us a base to try and at least contain the violence sweeping the Mideast."

That sort of effort could last indefinitely, perhaps resembling extended U.S. counterterrorism campaigns in places like Pakistan and Yemen, where U.S. air strikes support a local government's troops. That approach, however, would likely appease few of Obama's withering critics on the left and right. Some military commanders say defeating ISIS could require 15,000 U.S. ground troops. Liberals warn of a slippery slope toward quagmire. Nearly everyone seems to agree with Hillary Clinton, who told the *Atlantic* that Obama lacks a "clear strategy" for the Middle East beyond his motto of "Don't do stupid sh-t."

What it also means, more immediately, is a tighter bond between the U.S. military and the Kurdish forces, which may number up to 100,000. ISIS may have routed the *peshmerga* in early August, but analysts say the Kurds were poorly equipped and could not compete with ISIS's captured, American-made Iraqi army gear. The *peshmerga* are "fully capable, given the right weapons, equipment and support, like air support, of stopping ISIS in their tracks, at least from the north," says retired four-star general Anthony Zinni, a former chief of U.S. Central Command. U.S. military advisers are already coordinating air strikes with the *peshmerga*, says Fuad Hussein, a senior Kurdish regional government official. By Aug. 12, Kurdish fighters had already recaptured two towns from ISIS.

That is only a tiny step toward defeating ISIS, which boasts a force thought to be 10,000 strong. Stabilizing Iraq, meanwhile, is a project that will require the formation of a new government in Baghdad that can reunify Iraq and address the Sunni grievances that have allowed ISIS to flourish—a process that has proved excruciatingly slow as Prime Minister Nouri al-Maliki tries to cling to power. The Kurds are now crucial to holding Iraq together, even if what they want is to leave Iraq.

But independence may seem like a luxury when ISIS is at the door, its men ready to tweet every new atrocity. Which is why the Kurds are willing to work with a U.S. that has burned them before. "We used to say Kurds don't have any friends but the mountains," Hussein says. "But that doesn't ring true anymore." —WITH

REPORTING BY MARK THOMPSON AND JAY NEWTON-SMALL/WASHINGTON ■



MISERY BEGETS MISERY

Survivors of the Sinjar crash, including Yazidis and Kurdish and Iraqi military personnel, are loaded onto a second rescue helicopter bound for Kurdish territory. The pilot killed in the crash lies under the wounded



SCIENCE



WHY THE WORST OUTBREAK EVER IS A WARNING OF WHAT COULD COME NEXT
BY BRYAN WALSH AND ALEXANDRA SIFFERLIN



**PROTECTIVE
MEASURES**

Dr. David
Kuhar of the
CDC wears
the protective
suiting needed
to prevent Ebola
infections at
hospitals

THE HEADQUARTERS OF THE CENTERS FOR DISEASE CONTROL AND PREVENTION IN ATLANTA IS BUZZING BECAUSE OF A DISEASE THAT HAS NEVER KILLED A SINGLE PERSON ON U.S. SOIL. BUT THAT'S HOW NASTY EBOLA IS.

Staffers at the agency's Emergency Operations Center (EOC)—as close as the infectious-disease world has to a Mission Control—relay data from the field, producing comprehensive maps of the progression of the disease, which is killing more than half the people it infects, as it rages through West Africa. The telephones never stop ringing, a testament to the fact that on Aug. 6 the EOC was put on Level 1 response for Ebola—the highest possible alert.

That means the daily 10 a.m. meetings now spill out of the primary conference room, where Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC) officials and representatives from the State Department and the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID) discuss how to handle the deadliest Ebola outbreak in history, one that has already infected more than 1,900 people and killed more than 1,050. It's getting worse: on Aug. 8 the World Health Organization (WHO) classified the outbreak as a public health emergency of international concern, only the third time the global body had made such a declaration since 2005. "If current trends continue, it won't be long before there's more cases associated with this one outbreak than all previous outbreaks of Ebola virus combined," says Stephan Monroe, deputy director of the CDC's National Center for Emerging and Zoonotic Infectious Diseases, who's helping lead the Ebola response. "In order to fully resolve the outbreak, we're clearly looking at months, not weeks, of effort."

The magnitude of that challenge is apparent to Dr. Jefferson Sibley, who runs Phebe Hospital in central Liberia, one of the three West African nations, along with Sierra Leone and Guinea, at the heart of the outbreak. In mid-July, the hospital treated an Ebola patient who in turn infected five of Sibley's nurses, an aide and one of his doctors. The patient later died of the disease—as did all of the nurses and the aide. (The doctor survived.) After the nurses were taken away to an isolation center in Monrovia, the Liberian capital, nearly 200 staff members at Phebe Hospital abandoned their posts, refusing to

return until they received the equipment needed to protect them from a bug that is transmitted via close contact with blood and other contaminated body fluids.

At least 80 health workers have died of the disease so far in West Africa—far more than in any previous Ebola outbreak—and hospitals are closing even as the virus spreads. In Monrovia, bodies are rotting in the streets, and governments are putting into place cordon sanitaires—drawing lines around infected areas and refusing to let anyone leave. Sibley survived Liberia's 14-year civil war, which killed more than 250,000 people, but believes Ebola is worse. "The good thing about the war was you heard the gun sounds, you could run and take cover, but Ebola is not like that," says Sibley, standing outside his empty hospital. "You never know where it is coming from or who is bringing it to you."

For all the chaos and suffering that the virus is causing in West Africa, Ebola is unlikely to pose a serious health threat to the U.S. or other developed nations. It's simply too difficult to transmit, provided the infected are identified and isolated and health care workers are given proper protective equipment. That's the case at Emory University Hospital near CDC headquarters in Atlanta, where doctors are caring for two American health workers who contracted Ebola in Liberia and were then airlifted to the U.S. "We have the resources in place to take care of those patients with the highest-level care possible," says Dr. Anesh Mehta, an assistant professor of medicine at Emory who is helping treat the American patients.

But there's a reason the CDC is on red alert for a disease that mostly remains a threat to poor Africans. An uncontrolled outbreak anywhere, no matter how remote, can pose a real danger to the rest of the planet. "We live in a world where we are all connected by the air we breathe, the food we eat and by airplanes that can bring disease from anywhere to anywhere in a day," says Dr. Tom Frieden, the CDC director. "That's why it's so important to strengthen global health security and work with countries all around the world

so they can do a better job finding threats." Barring a sudden change, Ebola won't threaten the developed world, including the U.S. But there are lessons to be learned from this disease—lessons that could be lifesaving when the next virus hits.

Lesson No. 1: Mind the Animals

PRELIMINARY RESEARCH INDICATES THAT Patient Zero for the outbreak was likely a 2-year-old child who died of Ebola in December near Guekedou, Guinea, a town close to the borders of Sierra Leone and Liberia. But that's not where the outbreak began. Like most recently emerged pathogens—such as bird flu and SARS—Ebola is a zoonotic disease, meaning it originated in animals before spreading to human beings. It's not known which





MOBILIZING THE DEFENSE

On Aug. 6, the CDC put its Emergency Operations Center in Atlanta—the closest thing the world has to a medical Mission Control—on its highest alert. CDC staffers track cases of the disease and direct the agency's on-the-ground offensive against the virus.

The surge Over the next few weeks, the CDC will send 50 disease specialists, including epidemiologists, data managers and health educators, into the West African hot zone.

Contact tracing CDC disease specialists will locate people who may have come into contact with someone infected with Ebola, checking for further infections in an effort to bring an end to the current outbreak.

Best practices Staffers will work to help health workers and local leaders understand how the disease spreads and how to protect themselves in the event of an outbreak.

species was the original host, but scientists believe that a likely candidate would be one or more species of fruit bat, which can carry the Ebola virus without showing signs of illness. Bush meat—wildlife like bats or apes found in the jungle—is a major source of protein in parts of rural Africa, and it's possible for viruses like Ebola to infect human beings if an infected animal is butchered and eaten. That first animal-to-human transmission can mark the start of an outbreak.

Such spillover events are rare, but they seem to be more common as deforestation and development bring humans and animals closer together. "The incidence of those spillover events is increasing," says Raina Plowright, a research associate at the Center for Infectious Disease Dynam-

ics at Penn State University. "That needs to be looked at as a source of new pathogens."

In the past, the only warning of a spillover event was a cluster of sick human beings—and by then it was often too late to stop an outbreak. Scientists believe HIV—which originated in chimps—had been circulating in humans for decades in Central Africa before IV drug use, changing sexual mores and widespread international air travel allowed it to go global in the early 1980s. SARS, which began in horseshoe bats in southern China, had already jumped to human beings and spread across international borders by the time it was identified by doctors in the spring of 2003.

Now a new generation of scientists is trying to pinpoint and even prevent spill-

over events before they occur. USAID's Emerging Pandemic Threats (EPT) program supports a network of researchers who police the borders between animal health and human health in viral hot spots like West and Central Africa and Southeast Asia. By maintaining close watch on the viruses circulating in wildlife and educating people about practices that can expose them to the viruses, EPT may help give the world early warning of events like this year's Ebola outbreak.

It's far from a foolproof system. Researchers have identified at most 1% of the viruses in animals, and it can be incredibly challenging to boost diagnostic capabilities in some of the poorest nations in the world—which happen to be the same places where spillover events unfold.



SIERRA LEONE A team from WHO wears protective clothing as it prepares to transport the bodies of Ebola victims; corpses still pose an infection risk



GUINEA Red Cross workers carry the body of a 14-year-old girl killed by Ebola; researchers believe the outbreak began in the West African nation in December

But EPT promises to at least give us a head start. "It's like trying to fight a fire," says Dr. William Kesh, executive vice president for health and policy at EcoHealth Alliance, a member of the EPT program. "You don't just invest in fire trucks—you invest in smoke detectors too."

Lesson No. 2: It's a Contagious World

TO A VIRUS LIKE EBOLA, PEOPLE ARE kindling—the more there are, the easier it is to spread. Africa's population has exploded over the past few decades, and the continent is now home to more than 1.1 billion people. That growth is set to continue: a recent U.N. report projected that Africans will make up nearly 40% of the planet's population by the end of the century. Africans are increasingly mobile, whether traveling by road or by air, which is how an American infected in Liberia managed to spread Ebola to the Nigerian capital, Lagos, home to more than 20 million people. "Ebola outbreaks used to occur in Central Africa, but in West Africa the villages are closer together and the roads are easier to travel," says Robert Garry, a Tulane University virologist who has been involved in the Ebola response. "Once the virus is in a city, it's difficult to ring it off and stop the spread."

That's especially true of desperately poor countries like Liberia or Sierra Leone, where health care systems were barely adequate even before Ebola. "We were not prepared to really fight this battle in terms of the material, the training, the people, the expertise," Liberian President Ellen Johnson Sirleaf told Liberian health workers on Aug. 10. The CDC is now sending dozens of staffers to West Africa, and on Aug. 4 the World Bank pledged up to \$200 million to help support the global response, but for too long, under-resourced aid groups like Doctors Without Borders were the only international forces on the ground fighting the outbreak. Fear of the disease among local populations has made control that much more difficult, with some people hiding sick relatives and even attacking medical personnel. "There is such unevenness in terms of capability and capacity that every country on the planet is more vulnerable," says Gayle Smith, senior director at the National Security Council. "We can't afford for health-security reasons for there to be big holes in the net."

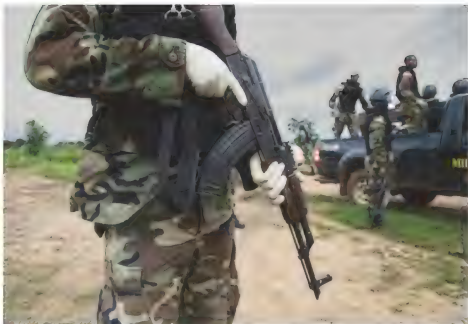
Lesson No. 3: Strengthen Homeland Defense

THE EBOLA OUTBREAK MAY HAVE KILLED more than 1,000 Africans and counting, but it wasn't until those two U.S. aid work-

ers were infected that the disease grabbed the attention of Americans. Dr. Kent Brantly and Nancy Writebol were treating Ebola patients at a Liberian hospital run by the Christian groups Samaritan's Purse and SIM when they both contracted the deadly disease. News that the two would be airlifted to Atlanta for treatment caused criticism from some who worried they would spread Ebola in the U.S. It's an understandable fear, if only because Ebola can kill in such a grisly fashion: some victims hemorrhage so heavily they end up effectively bleeding to death.

But there is virtually no chance that the disease will spread in the U.S. Emory's isolation unit was more than ready to take the Ebola patients, who are being treated by doctors and nurses wearing full-body protective suits. "This is what we've been preparing for for 12 years," says Dr. Bruce Ribner, an infectious-disease specialist at Emory who is leading the care of the Ebola patients. "This is what we're here for."

Most of the hospitals in the U.S.—and throughout much of the developed world—would be capable of handling a few patients suspected to have the disease. With Ebola, the U.S. had ample warning and was dealing with just a few cases of a known disease that doesn't spread easily.



LIBERIA A military policeman holds his rifle with gloves to avoid possible contact with the virus during the burial of Ebola victims; over 320 people have died in Liberia so far

That might not be the case next time. In April, an American health care worker contracted Middle Eastern Respiratory Syndrome (MERS)—another new disease that spilled over from animals—in Saudi Arabia before flying back to Indiana via London and Chicago. His infection wasn't detected when he entered the U.S. and didn't become known until after he turned up at an Indiana hospital with respiratory symptoms. The man didn't infect anyone—MERS doesn't seem to be very transmissible—but he could have exposed countless people to the disease. “We were just lucky,” says Michael Osterholm, director of the University of Minnesota's Center for Infectious Disease Research and Policy. In outbreaks, days and hours matter. The faster public-health officials can detect new infections, the faster they can trace contacts with sick people and stop further spread. That can be the difference between an outbreak and a pandemic.

Lesson No. 4: Get Ready to Surge

THERE'S NO VACCINE FOR EBOLA AND NO cure. All doctors can do is provide what's known as supportive therapy, maintaining oxygen, blood pressure and hydration. And then there's hope—and prayer.

But that may be changing. The two

American Ebola patients have been treated with an experimental drug called ZMapp, developed by an 11-year-old San Diego company, Mapp Biopharmaceutical. While there's no laboratory evidence of ZMapp's effectiveness, the drug seems to have helped the American patients, who have said in statements that they are improving. (The drug was also obtained for a 75-year-old Spanish priest who contracted Ebola in Liberia, though he died in Madrid on Aug. 12.) That has prompted Ebola-affected African countries to demand the drug. Even though ZMapp hasn't been fully tested yet, on Aug. 12 WHO endorsed the use of such untested drugs to combat Ebola—a measure of how desperate doctors fighting the outbreak have become.

But while Mapp Biopharmaceutical has shipped some doses of the drug to a West African country—believed to be Liberia—the company says supplies of ZMapp are now “exhausted.” There are potential vaccines as well, but those have languished in the pipeline because of a lack of demand and what was until now a slow approval process. “People like me and others who have worked for years in vaccines and countermeasures are frustrated,” says Thomas Geisbert, a professor of microbiol-

ogy and immunology at the University of Texas Medical Branch at Galveston. “But on the other hand, we don't want to take a step that isn't well thought through and ruin the whole approach in the future.”

In the event of an unchecked and dangerous pandemic, we may have no other choice—and even then we may not be ready. The vaccines made to respond to the H1N1 flu in 2009 weren't manufactured in time to head off the pandemic, though the doses that were made were rapidly distributed. Those logistical challenges would still need to be overcome should a new pandemic emerge. While improvements have been made—the CDC's Frieden touts a “more resilient system” since H1N1—the U.S. health care industry still lacks surge capacity that would enable it to withstand a sudden wave of seriously ill people. “If we had another flu pandemic tomorrow, one that hit people harder, you'd see a major deterioration of capacity throughout the health care system,” says Osterholm. And that's the final lesson of Ebola. In an interconnected world, even the strongest medical systems are weaker than they seem. —WITH REPORTING BY CLAIR MACDOUGALL/MONROVIA, ALICE PARK/NEW YORK AND MICHAEL SCHERER/WASHINGTON ■

Core Crash. New education standards have turned back-to-school into a battlefield

BY HALEY SWEETLAND EDWARDS/HOLLY SPRINGS

BETTYE FARROW-WILLIAMS leaned back in a worn metal desk chair, laced her fuchsia fingernails into a prayerlike pose and declared that the world had lost its mind. "Everybody is in a panic," she said on a recent Thursday morning at H.W. Byers High School in rural Holly Springs, Miss., where she has spent the past 49 years teaching social studies. Farrow-Williams was talking not just about her colleagues at Byers but also about the thousands of teachers, students, administrators and parents across Mississippi who are finding themselves at the center of an increasingly pitched battle over a set of new education standards known as Common Core.

The standards were designed by state officials as a way to make sure that students in, say, Montana are learning at the same level as their counterparts in Maine. But as Common Core is rolled out this month in every grade level at every public school in the 41 states that have adopted it, the political controversy surrounding its implementation threatens to derail a program once hailed as a model of bipartisan accomplishment.

In Mississippi, some teachers began the school year on Aug. 11 without knowing if Common Core would still be in place in the state by Christmas, while students aren't sure which exams they will need to study for. Administrators, meanwhile, don't have enough information to give straight answers. "People don't know what to expect," says Dante Thornton, the executive principal of Byers, which sits on a two-lane highway between a gas station and a Baptist church. "That's causing a frenzy."

Part of the challenge is that implementing a new statewide program, even in the best circumstances, comes with some hiccups. "It's like taking a wild hog and putting it in a tame place and thinking it's going to be tame right away," says Katrina Wiley, who teaches special education at Byers. "It's going to buck against the system for a while."

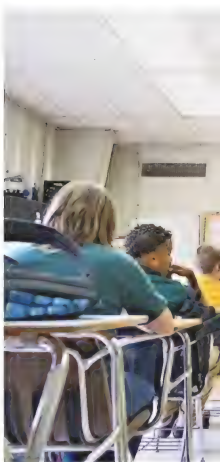
But the problem is larger than that. Over the past two years, Common Core has become one of the most politically radioactive issues in Mississippi. Seeing the standards as a federal incursion into state and local control of schools, some parents and Tea Partiers have flooded local newspapers and online political forums to decry Common Core as everything from a broken "federal curriculum" to a tool of cultural warfare designed to brainwash children with an anti-Christian, anticapitalist and anti-American ideology. At least one local activist compared it to a "Muslim takeover of schools," the rhetorical equivalent, in the Bible Belt, of dropping an A-bomb.

Under pressure from this angry conservative base, Republican elected officials in Mississippi have started distancing themselves from the standards and may even vote to dump them midyear. In June, Governor Phil Bryant, who had once celebrated Common Core, called it "a failed program."

The same political battle is playing out on the national stage, where Common Core has become a proxy for simmering anger at the Obama Administration and a larger distrust of government. The fight has created strange bedfellows. In opposition, conservative groups are united with traditional lefties and local teachers' unions, which object to some of

the curriculums and homework assignments chosen by their states and districts and to the emphasis on standardized tests to evaluate teacher performance. Meanwhile, President Obama finds himself backed on the standards not by the liberal base that helped elect him but by national business groups and corporate leaders, who see the program as critical to building a more capable workforce.

Caught between these two fragile alliances are Republican politicians, who must choose between the demands of Tea Party-backed groups and those of Establishment forces like the U.S. Chamber of Commerce. It has been an ugly fight. In a two-hour presentation this summer that was later rebroadcast in movie theaters across the country, right-wing pundits Glenn Beck and Michelle Malkin compared Common Core to communism and Nazism. So far at least nine Republican governors—including New Jersey's Chris Christie and Louisiana's Bobby Jindal, both 2016 presidential hopefuls—have tempered or retracted their support for





the standards. After Indiana Governor Mike Pence signed legislation ditching Common Core in March, a committee re-wrote the Hoosier State's standards. They are now virtually identical to Common Core, minus the toxic name.

An Unexpected Divide

THE POLITICAL BACKLASH HAS TAKEN many supporters by surprise. Five years ago, the atmosphere was practically that of a bipartisan love-in when the National Governors Association and a group of the states' highest-ranking school officials convened, with the support of the Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation, to draft the standards that became Common Core. The federal government backed the initiative, offering Department of Education grants to states as an incentive to adopt it, but it did not oversee the effort. The two biggest teachers' unions and the national business community supported the final draft, and by early 2011, 40 states had signed on to the shared standards. In the next two years, five more followed suit.

Lessons to learn Katrina Wiley talks to a class on the first day of school at H.W. Byers High School

Which made sense. The idea behind Common Core can be traced back to Ronald Reagan and was later championed by Presidents Bill Clinton and George W. Bush: to create a set of rigorous but broadly defined academic concepts in math and English for levels from kindergarten through the end of high school that every American student should grasp. Among the expectations: all kindergartners should be able to count from 1 to 100 by 10s and 1s; all third-graders should be able to figure out the perimeter of a shape, given the length of the sides; and all sixth-graders should be able to write a short narrative of a historical event. While Common Core does not prescribe a specific curriculum or reading list—that's left up to states and

local school districts—it does emphasize teaching critical-thinking skills over rote memorization, and accompanying standardized tests attempt to measure that. Rather than traditional fill-in-the-bubble multiple-choice exams, Common Core-aligned tests, which will be taken on computers in most school districts in spring, will include interactive problem solving and, in some instances, require students to provide a written justification for their answers.

The hope of supporters is that Common Core states will be able to measure whether their students have the skills they need in an increasingly mobile and globalized economy. As of 2012, at least 20% of college freshmen in the U.S. had to take remedial courses, a detour that not only derails many students' journey to a diploma but also costs taxpayers an estimated \$2.5 billion a year in financial aid.

But that hope requires states to stay on board, and in Mississippi the politics appears to be tilting against Common Core. This fall, the state legislature could vote to repeal the program. If it does, teachers may be asked to revert midway to an older set of state standards, which the conservative Fordham Institute dismissed in 2010 as among the worst in the country. In that case, students could be required to take state exams different from the ones for which they spent the year preparing.

"Teachers really want to know if there is going to be follow-through on this in our state," says Jerry Moore, the superintendent of the Marshall County school district, which includes Byers. "I tell them that's a really good question."

Proponents of Common Core say they are working to head off the uncertainty by making the implementation process go as smoothly as possible. The Mississippi department of education has deployed teams of Common Core experts across the state to help teachers and administrators grapple with the new requirements and will disseminate information packets to legislators this fall. "A huge challenge this year will be educating the general public about what the Common Core is and what it is not," says Mississippi superintendent Carey Wright.

Meanwhile, teachers at Byers, where fewer than 70% of seniors in the class of 2013 graduated in four years, will do as they've always done. For Bettye Farrow-Williams, that means keeping her eye on a simple goal. "Show up every day," she says, "and teach the very best we can." ■

APPRECIATION

THE HEART OF COMEDY

ROBIN WILLIAMS
1951–2014

*One man with a thousand voices brought joy
to millions—but could not sustain it in himself*

BY RICHARD CORLISS

Photograph by Brigitte Lacombe





OCT. 14, 1981: ROBIN WILLIAMS' FIRST TIME WITH JOHNNY

Carson on *The Tonight Show*. He begins by denying he's nervous and proves it by slouching as if he were a deflated balloon. "I suffer from severe dyslexia too," he tells Carson. "I was the only child on my block on Halloween to go, 'Trick or trout.'" Instantly he transforms into his adult neighbors: "Here comes that young Williams boy again. Better get some fish." Trying to unearth some backstory, Carson asks, "Where is home for you?" Then, thinking better, "Or did you come from a home?"

That cues Robin as a visitor to an asylum talking to a patient: "If you haven't taken your medication yet, it's gonna be fun." Then, as he mimes struggling in a straitjacket, he channels a concerned doctor: "How are you, Mr. Williams?" Noticing the overhead mike, he rises, shouts, "Look! Flipper!" and makes a dolphin cry. "Right now there's a soundman going, 'What are you doing?'" and he outfits himself with imaginary headphones. Trying to calm himself, he says, "Relax, relax, relax, you're on TV" and, to Carson, "You're a nice man, you won't hurt me." Reaching for the host's famous coffee mug, he takes a sip, saying, "Don't be afraid, the sores went away." And in his macho voice: "A real man can stand up to herpes!"

In this first 75 seconds of his debut with the reigning king of talk TV, Williams slipped into and out of a half-dozen characters, as if his mind were a Whac-a-Mole game housing a million critters of all species and shades, each ready to pop up unbidden. He was already a TV sensation as the benign extraterrestrial Mork from Ork on *Mork & Mindy* and had starred as a comic-strip sailor in *Popeye*. But that *Tonight Show* stint revealed the distilled form of Williams' unique genius—we can use the phrase without fear of exaggeration—in stand-up comedy and his visits with Carson, Dick Cavett, David Letterman, Jay Leno and the other late-night lions.

For all his serious film roles, which garnered him a Supporting Actor Oscar (for *Good Will Hunting*) and three Best Actor nominations, Williams at his purest was the id unleashed, geysering nonstop shtick of the highest order. "You're only given one little spark of madness," he said.

"If you lose that, you're nothin'." His spark was a forest fire, a comic conflagration that warmed the world and damaged no one.

Perhaps excepting himself. Addicted to cocaine and alcohol, Williams also made frequent guest appearances at rehab clinics, held over by his own demand. His wild ways exhausted two wives and widowed the third, Susan Schneider, whom by all accounts he adored. He suffered from depression, not a rare malady for comedians, and surrendered to it on Aug. 11, when he hanged himself in his Tiburon, Calif., home. Rigor mortis had already set in when his personal assistant found him. Williams was 63.

His death touched a collective nerve, and the hearts of his myriad fans. Some looked back with awe at the nonpareil comedy he pinwheelled, playing indelible cartoon characters in *Aladdin*, *Robots* and *Happy Feet*. But many more mourners thought of Williams as one of the brave little men he incarnated in dramatic films. Moviegoers detected the ache in his comic panache and the sad sweetness at his core. They loved the guy. Didn't he know that? And couldn't that realization give him a life-preserving satisfaction?

The most poignant tribute came from his daughter Zelda, 25. "My family has always been private about our time spent together," she said in a statement. "It was our way of keeping one thing that was ours, with a man we shared with an entire world. But now that's gone, and I feel stripped bare. My last day with him was his birthday"—July 21, three weeks before his death—"and I will be forever grateful that my brothers and I got to spend that time alone with him, sharing gifts and laughter. He was always warm, even in his darkest moments. While I'll never, ever understand how he could be loved so deeply and not find it in his heart to stay, there's minor comfort in knowing our grief and loss, in some small way, is shared with millions."

The urge for Robin McLaurin Williams to share his gift may have stemmed from neglect in his early years. His father Robert, a Ford Motor executive, moved the family from Chicago, where Robin was born, to Detroit. Robert died in 1987. (In Robin's 1998 Oscar acceptance speech,

He was fast and furious, and I think there's something else that's behind there that you can't really quantify or define. You could just tell there was a humanity in Robin Williams.'

—BILL MAHER,
COMEDIAN

ROOM SERVICE

Photographer Martin Schoeller took the portrait of Wilhams at a New York City hotel in 2002. "Unlike most Hollywood stars, he is unfazed by his status and position," Schoeller recalls. "He talks to everyone, from staff to the camera."



'Robin was one of the great interviews. You'd see him coming down that red carpet and you knew, O.K., now we're gonna have fun. [One time], I had this incredible dress, I think it was Dior, with great big gold feathers on the top, absolutely beautiful. And he came up and did five minutes on looking for eggs in my top, because I looked like a chicken. It was fabulously insane.'

—JOAN RIVERS,
COMEDIAN

he reserved the final thank you for "my father up there, the man who when I said I wanted to be an actor, he said, 'Wonderful, just have a backup profession, like welding.'" Robin's mother Laurie, a former model, completed the image of a picture-book Wasp family. "He also had a really formal upbringing," Joan Rivers, who relied on Williams as an inspired TV-chat companion, tells *TIME*. "He came from an upper-middle-class family, very educated, very well read, very knowledgeable about everything, about literature."

With both parents often absent, Robin was a lonely child, playing with his enormous collection of toys; the family maids were his main minders and first audience. The Williamses later moved to a 40-room home in Bloomfield Hills, a suburb of Detroit, and when Robert retired he settled the family in Marin County, California, where Robin attended Redwood High School and emerged from his shell of shyness to join the drama society. In senior year he was voted both "funniest" and "least likely to succeed." He attended Claremont Men's College (now Claremont McKenna College) and later received a scholarship to study at New York City's Juilliard School. One of his classmates was Christopher Reeve, who would find stardom as the movies' Superman in 1978, the year Williams broke out as Mork—two actors with Broadway dreams who reached megafame playing endearing aliens.

An Eruption of Improvisation

WILLIAMS HAD THE MAKINGS OF A FINE DRAMATIC actor: a friendly face and a sturdy frame, with a mime's agility and a powerful voice—from the chest, not the throat—that echoed not Brando and the Method men but the English and American classicists. Yet John Houseman, the eminent film and theater producer who served as Juilliard's drama director before becoming a TV star on *The Paper Chase*, told Williams he was wasting his time as a student. Playing one character at a time, for months on end, didn't properly exploit Williams' glossolalic gift of being everyone at once; that capering intelligence could find its full expression in stand-up comedy.

Most comics, then and now, honed their routines to letter-perfection. A few courted inspiration, and risked failure, with solo improv comedy. Mad-professor types like Brother Theodore and Irwin Corey turned their performances into rant lectures that disdained punch lines and spiraled into twisted logic. Lenny Bruce and Richard Pryor were hipster social critics following their own elevated radar. Jonathan Winters, a Carson favorite (as dear Maude Frickert), was closest to Williams: he pirouetted from character to character, emitting more weird noises than a Warner

Bros. cartoon soundtrack. The true brethren of these brilliant misfits were not stand-up comics but the most adventurous jazzmen. And if Bruce was the Louis Armstrong of solo improv comedy, and Winters the Charlie Parker, then Williams was Sun Ra, the farther-than-far-out composer who claimed he came from Saturn.

Of course Williams had a notion of what he would say onstage and often played unannounced gigs at comedy clubs to hone his material. But the safety net of even a discursive narrative was too confining for all the voices waiting inside to burst out, like Linda Blair's devils in *The Exorcist*, but hilarious. Williams took the anarcho-improv impulse and flew with it—a Robin reaching the surreal stratosphere. When everyone else was analog, he was digital. That's why his comedy had many admirers but virtually no imitators. Who else could even think of doing that?

Moving to Hollywood, Williams served briefly in an ill-fated second edition of the TV vaudeville show *Laugh-In*. Then Garry Marshall, producer of *Happy Days*, saw Williams' otherworldly appeal and tried harnessing it by casting him as Mork. In a 1993 *Today* interview with Gene Shalit, Williams mimicked Marshall's gruff Bronx bonhomie in hiring him: "It's not Shakespeare, you'll have a good time."

In February 1978, Williams' Mork, beamed down from the planet Ork to join the FonZ (Henry Winkler) and Richie Cunningham (Ron Howard) in 1950s Milwaukee, proved such a sensation that the *nanu-nanu* boy got his own sitcom spin-off seven months later and graced the cover of *TIME* the following year. The *Mork & Mindy* situation was familiar—sort of a heterosexual *My Favorite Martian*, with Mork finding a romantic partner (Pam Dawber's Mindy) in Boulder, Colo.—yet the show changed TV comedy, a little, by occasionally letting the star turn improvisationally amok. In the fourth season, he brought Winters into the show as Mork and Mindy's child Mearth. (Orkans age backward, if you're wondering.) Now Winters and Williams could do their thing together—the meeting, on prime-time TV, of two wonderfully warped minds.

Tenderness on the Big Screen

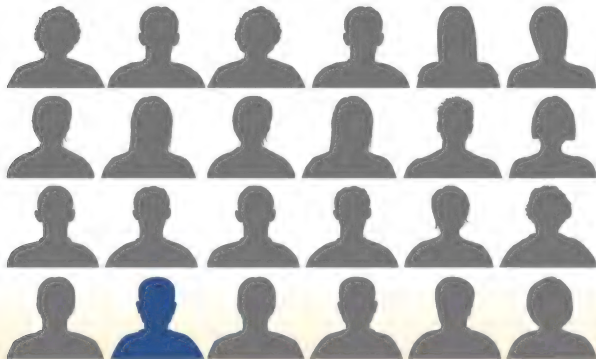
HE MAY HAVE LEFT JUILLIARD, BUT JUILLIARD stayed with him. Instead of pursuing a career in movie comedy, as Pryor and the first stars of *Saturday Night Live* did, Williams parlayed his fame as Mork and Popeye into securing serious roles. Why does a clown want to play Hamlet? Maybe because he thinks he is that melancholy soul whom others find amusingly odd. (Williams and another unique stand-up comic, Steve Martin, played not Shakespeare but Beckett in Mike



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CHILD'S PLAY
Williams in
eighth grade



'He was very shy and possibly a little embarrassed by his fame. Inside, he was really a comic. He was the first of [our little clan of] San Francisco comedians to become a star—and not just a star, a megastar. So he was a symbol of hope for a lot of us.'

—MARGARET CHO, COMEDIAN

Nichols' 1988 Lincoln Center production of *Waiting for Godot*.)

Whatever the compulsion, Williams took the lead as the suburban dad facing job-like calamities in *The World According to Garp*. He was the Russian immigrant in *Moscow on the Hudson*, the psychologist with catatonic patients in *Awakenings*, the dead man searching for his wife in *What Dreams May Come*. He earned three Best Actor Oscar nominations—as the DJ in *Good Morning, Vietnam*, the sainted teacher in *Dead Poets Society* and another DJ, nearly driven to suicide, in *The Fisher King*—all for roles that allowed him to assume multiple voices, at least in passing. (In *Dead Poets* he persuades prep-school boys to love Shakespeare by imitating Brando in *Julius Caesar* and imagining John Wayne as Macbeth.) He even got himself cast in Kenneth Branagh's 1996 film of *Hamlet*. Not the lead; Osric the courtier.

If his solo comedy work aimed to challenge and astound, most of his films tended to reassure, to touch the heart—sometimes with a brisk massage, as in the gay valentine *The Birdcage*, and at least once with egregious sentiment: the bullying tearjerker *Patch Adams*, which cast Williams as a clowning healer of sick children. (Apologies, reader, if that one got to you.) He was more comfortable in an outright comedy like *Mrs. Doubtfire*, where the sentiment of a divorced father scheming to be near his kids took second place to the spectacle of Robin as a bosomy Mary Poppins.

A Friend in Need

WILLIAMS' RESTLESS ENERGY FOUND ANOTHER outlet in donations and appearances for 28 charities, according to the monitoring website Look to the Stars. He supported the St. Jude Children's Hospital and exported laughter to soldiers in USO tours to a dozen countries. When comedy writer and performer Bob Zmuda founded Comic Relief USA, Williams signed on with Whoopi Goldberg and Billy Crystal to host a series of HBO specials that raised some \$50 million for the homeless. Zmuda, citing Williams' upper-middle-class background, tells PEOPLE, "Robin always felt a little guilty about all the good things he was given, so he had a real place in his heart for people who were homeless and suffering. He and Whoopi and Billy not only did the show, they would go to shelters together and meet the people they were helping. They were the real thing."

David Steinberg, the comedian who shared the stage with Williams in a 2013 concert tour, testifies to the star's devotion to his mentor Winters, who died last year. "He would drive to Santa Barbara weekly," Steinberg recalls, "to make sure Jonathan was O.K.—a comic genius looking after



PUNCH LINE

During a 2008 shoot, photographer Art Streiber cracked a joke that made Williams double over his laughter. "To the end of my days I will try to remember what that joke was," Streiber says. "But he laughed, and is his genius."



'It was like Robin had the most brilliant audience inside his head throwing out suggestions. He would put combinations together that were just crazy. It's proof again that the good die young and pricks live forever.'

—LEWIS BLACK,
COMEDIAN

another comic genius. Robin looked after everyone. If only he would have looked after himself."

He was a friend in need and deed to Reeve, who died in 2004 after being paralyzed from the neck down in a 1995 fall from a horse. Williams served on the board of the Christopher & Dana Reeve Foundation, which raises money for research into spinal-cord injuries, and lifted Reeve's spirits with his elfin humor. On the *Today* show, Reeve smiled as he spoke of one Williams visit: "Thank God I wear a seat belt in this chair, because I would have fallen out laughing. In the middle of a tragedy like this, in the middle of a depression, you can still experience genuine joy and laughter and love. And anyone who says life's not worth living is totally wrong, totally wrong."

Like the teachers he played in *Dead Poets Society* and *Good Will Hunting*, Williams was always available for consultation, especially among his colleagues in the brutal game of stand-up. When Jamie Kilstein, the comedian who co-hosts *Citizen Radio* on Sirius, admitted in an email exchange that he was "having a really hard time," Williams phoned him for some late-night therapy. "A few months ago," Kilstein says, "Robin called me to talk me out of my depression. He asked if it was a money issue, and I said no. He wanted to know if he could do anything. He told me not to stop. He said, 'Just don't.' He just made me feel special." The pity is that Williams, who made so many people feel special on the phone or in person or through the TV or movie screen, never found a Robin Williams to salve his psychic wounds.

His Final Act

WILLIAMS RETURNED TO SERIES TV LAST YEAR for *The Crazy Ones*, playing an adman running an agency with his daughter (Sarah Michelle Gellar). During a break in the shoot, says someone who worked with him, "Robin went and sat off to the side. And in that moment, his face just changed. He looked so exhausted and profoundly, deeply sad. And then one minute later, it was gone. He just snapped out of it and pulled myself back together. And you know what? He nailed the scene. Just nailed it. But I said to him afterward, 'Hey, are you O.K.?' And he said something like, 'It's no fun getting old. And I am so f-cking old.' But he said it in one of his funny voices, like he was some ancient old guy. Like it was a joke."

CBS canceled *The Crazy Ones* in May. Two months later, Williams checked himself into his final rehab, seeking to "fine-tune" his commitment to sobriety. Comedians, whether or not they become movie stars, are also actors: onstage alone, before a crowd that could be bored or hostile, they play characters that must be commanding or charming enough to win laughs and love.

Offstage, they can be quiet or morose, and that could be Williams. "If you were alone with Robin," says Zmuda, "and I've known this guy for 35 years, he would be so uncomfortable. It would be like being in an elevator with a stranger. But if there were two people in the room, then he would snap into performing. I think he was a guy who had a very difficult time if he was alone."

The man who could play anyone could not play *only* one: not *only* Robin Williams, whoever they were. He entertained the comic cacophony in his head, nearly as much as it entertained his fans. And then the voices told this Pierrot-Hamlet it was time for a rest. The rest is silence.

Williams called himself an Episcopalian—he once created a Top 10 Reasons to Be an Episcopalian ("No. 3: All of the pageantry, none of the guilt")—and imagined the afterlife as a posh restaurant, observing, "Death is Nature's way of saying, 'Your table is ready.'" He bequeathed that eerie optimism to Zelda, who the day after her father's death posted a passage from Antoine de Saint-Exupéry's children's classic, *The Little Prince*. It speaks of farewell but not goodbye, with the twinkling promise of mirth after death: "You—you alone will have the stars as no one else has them.... In one of the stars I shall be living. In one of them I shall be laughing. And so it will be as if all the stars were laughing, when you look at the sky at night.... You—only you—will have the stars that can laugh."

Just now we can cry for the man, for the torments he endured and the broken hearts of his family. But we would be wrong to remember him only as Robin Williams, Suicide. That would deny the best in ourselves—an inspired portion of which he planted there. On one episode of *Mork & Mindy*, Mork speaks with his (unseen) Orkan contact Orson about his sorrow over losing a friend. "You know," he says, crushed by bereavement, "when you create someone, you nurture them, they grow, and then there comes a time when they have to lead their own life." His voice breaks as he adds, "Or die their own death." Orson asks, "And now your friend is gone forever?" "No, Sir," Mork whispers, pounding his heart. "I'll always keep him right here."

So we recall Robin Williams as the stalwart friend whose generosity matched his genius, and the star who corralled his angels and demons to make the world laugh in the maddest, merriest way. Our friend isn't gone forever. We'll always keep him right here. —WITH REPORTING BY SARAH BEGLEY, KATE COYNE, ERIC DODDS, NOLAN FEENEY, LARRY GELTEN AND LAURA LANE/NEW YORK; J.D. HEYMAN AND LYNETTE RICE/LOS ANGELES; AND KATY STEINMETZ/MARIN, CALIF. ■



UNDER THE BRIDGE

From the moment we started working, he was in constant motion," recalls

Mary Ellen Mark of photographing Williams in San Francisco in 1998. "At the end of the shoot I was exhausted, and he was still firing on all cylinders as if nothing had happened."

WHEN SHAZBOT WAS SUBLIME

The glorious madness of *Mork from Ork* BY JAMES PONIEWOZIK

ROBIN WILLIAMS DIDN'T BELONG TO ME ALONE. At the peak of *Mork & Mindy's* success, when he made the cover of *TIME* in his first season, an average of 60 million people watched the show every week. (A No. 1 show today is lucky to get one-third that many viewers.) But when I was a kid, raised on a steady diet of ABC sitcoms, he was the first TV star who felt like mine—the first one who amazed me, who connected with me, whom I genuinely liked rather than simply liked to laugh at.

Mork & Mindy was not one of TV's greatest sitcoms—a *Happy Days* spin-off about a wacky space alien, it was not exactly trying to be. But man, was Williams' a revelatory, gobs-macking performance! Kids especially loved Mork; he was a man and a child, buoyant, rubber-faced, an endless gusher of playful invention.

That superhuman ability to riff and improvise led producer Garry Marshall to first cast Williams in the 1950s-nostalgia sitcom *Happy Days*, whose characters (like Henry Winkler's Arthur "the Fonz" Fonzarelli) and catchphrases (*Aaaaaaayyyyy!*) were enshrined on our lunch boxes. Soon enough Marshall gave Williams his own show—time-jumped to present-day 1978—to crank him up and let him run. (As Williams later recalled, "Literally, they would put in the script, 'Mork does his thing here.'")

Like any American child, I already loved the Fonz. But the Fonz was a grownup, with his motorcycles and dates with triplets. Mork was something else: an adult, and a kid, and a magical being. He was a grown man who looked at our world, which he was studying for his home planet, Ork, with the delighted surprise of a baby. (He was also, of course, channeling ideas from the adult comedic counterculture at the time, but all that my classmates and I heard were the funny voices.)

The Fonz was cool. Mork was weird—popping out-of-an-egg, rainbow-suspenders, scat-riffing, about-the-Shah-of-Iran weird. And to every nerd-in-training in the audience, he communicated an idea that I hadn't seen in pop culture before then: that weirdness was O.K. No, it was *great*. It was energy. It opened up worlds.

This being the '70s, Mork had his own

catchphrases—*Nanu nanu! Shazbot!*—but what was captivating about Williams was the opposite of sitcom predictability. You didn't know what would come out of his mouth. In the classic Season 1 episode "Mork's Mixed Emotions," he begins by describing a dream he had to Pam Dawber's Mindy, his earthling roommate and later his wife: he becomes a one-man comedy troupe, lurching from confusion to anger to jealousy, arguing with himself in multiple voices and slapping himself in the face, finally becoming Mindy herself. In that first season, Williams was making a rich-for-the-time \$15,000 an episode, but it was a bargain: his producers were getting a package deal.

So were the fans. We didn't know it, but Williams was giving us a preview of the future. His lightning-free-associative improv, his ability to throw pop culture, philosophy and politics into a blender, the way he held a Surrealist party for a dozen voices in his head—it all foresaw the quick-cut, hyperlinked, overstimulated, remote-controlled media world that was coming. Before most of us had cable, he was 500 channels. He was a one-man supercut video.

He was a human Internet.

But he was human, for all his superhuman speed and talent. One of the premises of *Mork & Mindy* was that Mork, like all Orkans, had no emotions. He didn't fool any of us for a second. Mork's clipped alienspeak notwithstanding, Williams played him as all emotion: delight, confusion, warmth, amazement, glee. His feelings cascaded over him, and he struggled to wrestle and understand them—which, of course, was another thing kids especially identified with in him. When Mork began to fall in love with Mindy, he was the only one who was surprised that he had it in him. As he would report back to his alien superior Orson, "Love doesn't make sense. That's why earthlings think it's so wonderful."

Williams had a long career yet ahead of him: stand-up, movies, a brief return to sitcom TV in 2013's *The Crazy Ones* for CBS. But it was that first performance, that wonderful nonsense, that made me and millions of others feel he belonged to us—even as, like his Orkan alter ego, he truly belonged to the universe.



Before most of us had cable, he was 500 channels

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BASKING IN ROBIN

We trace the evolution of a decades-long career, one signature role at a time

BY ERIC DODDS

MOVIE
STAND-UP
TELEVISION
THEATER



1971 CAN I DO IT... TIL I NEED GLASSES?
VARIOUS ROLES



1977 THE RICHARD PRYOR SHOW
VARIOUS ROLES



1977 LAUGH IN
VARIOUS ROLES



1977 EIGHT IS ENOUGH
GUEST STAR



1980 AN EVENING WITH ROBIN WILLIAMS
HIMSELF



1982 THE WORLD ACCORDING TO GARP
GARP



1982 FANNY HILL
THE FROG/PRINCE ROBIN



1983 THE SHAWSHANK REDEMPTION
DONALD GUNDEL



1986 ROBIN WILLIAMS: AN EVENING AT THE MET
HIMSELF



1986 COMIC RELIEF
HIMSELF



1987 JONATHAN WINTERS ON THE EDGE
VARIOUS ROLES



1987 GOOD MORNING, VIETNAM
ADRIAN CRONAUER



1991 THE FISHER KING
PARRY



1991 SESAME STREET
HIMSELF



1991 HOOK
PETER PAN



1992 FERNGULLY: THE LAST RAINFOREST
BATTY KODA



1992 THE LARRY SANDERS SHOW
ROBIN WILLIAMS



1992 ALADDIN
GENIE



1992 TOYS
LESLIE DEVO



1996 JACK
JACK POWELL



1996 ALADDIN AND THE KING OF HEARTS
GENIE



1996 HAMLET
OSRIC



1997 FRIENDS
TOMAS



1997 MADRAS DAY
DALE PUTLEY



1997 DECONSTRUCTING HARRY
MEL



1997 FLUBBER
PROFESSOR PHILIP BRAINARD



2000 WHOSE LINE IS IT ANYWAY?
HIMSELF



2001 AI: ARTIFICIAL INTELLIGENCE
DR. KNOW



2002 DEATH TO SMOOCHY
RAINBOW RANDOLPH



2002 ROSANNA
WALTER FINCH



2002 ROBIN WILLIAMS: LIVE ON BROADWAY
HIMSELF



2002 THE HOUR PHOTO
SEYMOUR PARRISH



2003 LIFE WITH BONNIE
KEVIN FORNALSKI



2006 THE NIGHT LISTENER
GABRIEL NOONE



2006 MAN OF THE YEAR
TOM DOBBS



2009 HAPPY FEET
RAMON/LOVEFACE



2008 NIGHT AT THE MUSEUM
TEDDY ROOSEVELT



2007 LICENSE TO WED
REVEREND FRANK



2007 AUGUST RUSH
MAXWELL WALLACE



2008 AMERICAN IDOL
JAN "BOB" POPPANOFF



2012 HAPPY FEET TWO
RAMON/LOVEFACE



2011 WIPE OUT
HIMSELF



2012 WILFRED
DR. EDDY



2012 LOUIE
ROBIN



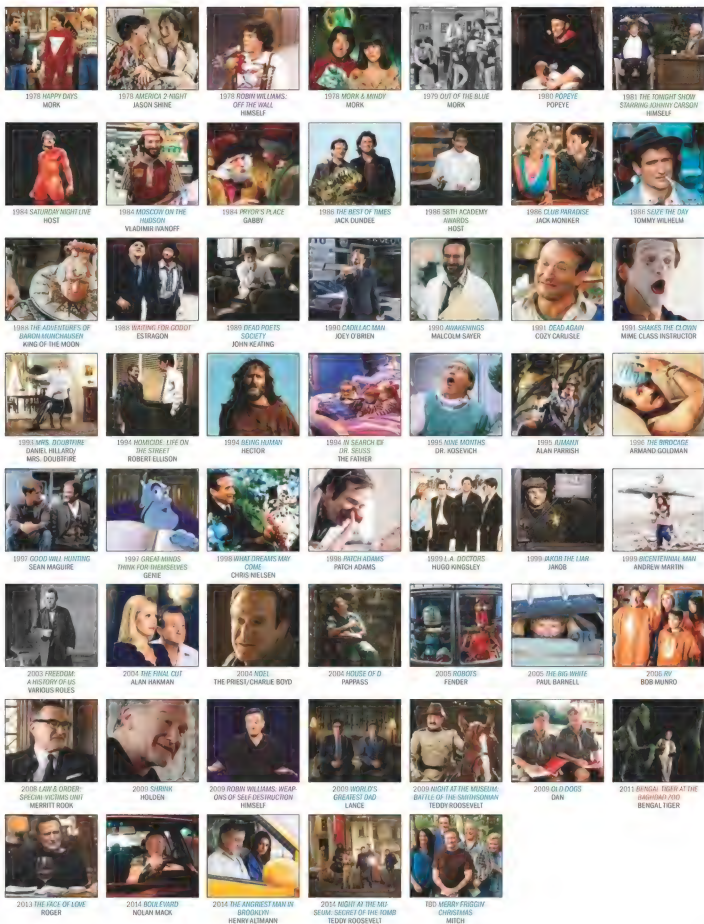
2013 THE BIG WEDDING
FATHER MORGAN



2013 THE BUTLER
DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER



2013 THE CRAZY ONES
SAM ROBERTS



BOXING THE BLACK DOG

Why does the gift for great performance seem to go hand in hand with unshakable depression? **BY DICK CAVETT**

ROBIN WILLIAMS WILL NOT BE THE LAST CHERISHED performer to be snatched from our midst by depression and suicide.

It's a melancholy fact that what a musician friend calls the *real* blues and Winston Churchill called the black dog seems to have much too close an affinity to the performer's life. Depression seems to stalk the lively arts like Jack the Ripper, accompanied by depression's handmaiden, suicide.

No one I know claims to know why. Is there something in the brain chemistry of the performer that produces this woeful result? I could fill this page and another with the names of famous and less so actors, comics and musicians who live miserably—and die—in association with that demon of a hound.

Booze is the favored self-treatment. Not surprising, because you will feel a little better, for a bit—a brief and costly reprieve, since alcohol is a depressant of the central nervous system.

I guarantee you that thousands, hearing of Robin's death, asked how he could do it when he had everything: fame, wealth, adulation, family love and another supposed insulator against the worst of the blues—plenty of work. No combination of those adds up to insurance. And the hectic, nerve-racking ups and downs of fortune in show business are, of course, a major factor in emotional disequilibrium.

You yourself may have thought, "How could he do this to his wife and kids?" Easy. Because what's been called the worst agony devised for man doesn't allow you to feel any emotion for kids, spouse, lover, parents... even your beloved dog. And least of all for yourself.

I know Robin knew this. His death recalled a moment with him years ago in a small club. He came off after lifting a cheering audience to its feet. "Isn't it funny how I can bring great happiness to all these people," he said. "But not to myself."

The nonactor has a major advantage, because it's harder to hide the symptoms. The actor knows how to act. To play having fun. How often it's "He was the life of the party that night. And then he went home and..."

Robin and I agreed once that it's galling to hear—when you're "in it"—the question: "What have you got to be depressed about?" The great British actor and comedian Stephen

Fry, a fellow sufferer, replies, "And what have you got to have asthma about?"

Robin, like his idol Jonathan Winters, must have had one of the world's hardest talents with which to live and still retain personal balance. Sitting next to him on my old PBS show was like sitting in the Macy's barge next to the fireworks going off. He was at full manic comic frenzy for an hour without letup. (He even improvised a short Shakespeare play together, with and without rhymed couplets.) I caught his manic energy. It was exhilarating. And exhausting.

When it ended, I was wet and spent. It took him a while to come (partially) down, and I thought, "Can this be good for anyone? Can you be able to do all these rapid-fire personal changes and emerge knowing who you yourself are?"

But can any of us really see ourselves? I was unable to watch a show I once did with Laurence Olivier while I was virtually blind with depression. I later told Marlon Brando I could never watch it, knowing I'd look dead, slow and stupid. "Do me a favor," he said. "Watch it." I made myself watch. I looked fine. My eyes were bright, and the silences I recalled were gone. I called Brando, and I asked him what explained that. "Automatic pilot. We all get by on it when the clouds roll in. Too bad they roll back in when the performance ends and you get back under the bed."

This will not brighten the picture. I said to a brilliant psychopharmacologist recently that there must be a lot of progress and new medications since I suffered back in the '70s. The answer: "No, we're really not making much progress, I'm afraid."

Someday, will some chemical link be found between great, great performing talent and susceptibility to that awful conqueror of the talented performer? Are the gods jealous? Do the immortals cruelly envy the greatly gifted and, in the classic Greek manner, smite them low? The somewhat grim answer: we'd better enjoy them while we can. ■

Dick Cavett was the host of The Dick Cavett Show from 1968 to 1982. He is the author of the forthcoming Brief Encounters: Conversations, Magic Moments, and Assorted Hijinks.

'How could he do this to his wife and kids?' Easy. Because what's been called the worst agony devised for man doesn't allow you to feel any emotion for kids, spouse, lover, parents... even your beloved dog. And least of all for yourself.



10 Questions



In the course of the interview, Williams used at least 36 different accents and voices

In March 2011, TIME interviewed Robin Williams for this page. The video of that conversation became one of the most watched features on TIME.com. Here are 10 exchanges that didn't fit the first time around

Is being funny sometimes a hindrance to social interaction?

People expect you to be wacky. They want to take a picture with their family, and they say, "Smile," and you say, "I am smiling." They expect you to be on and crazy. No. I do that sometimes onstage and other times—no. Other times people will come up and tell you some really nasty joke and go, "Use it." Really? That's a great place for your grandmother to keep her teeth. What? I can't use that joke. The great thing about walking around New York, especially looking like Saddam Hussein's stunt double, is people don't make a lot of eye contact.

How about with family?

Years ago, I was reading a story to my daughter and I was doing voices and everything, and she turned to me and said, "Just read the story. And stick to the main points."

There's a pervasive theory that when you're doing serious roles—

I grow a beard.

Exactly. And then you're clean-shaven for the comedies.

No, it's not true. Sometimes the beard works, sometimes it doesn't. It depends. I can grow this beard in whatever time it

takes to leave here and walk down the street.

We see a lot of celebrities with substance-abuse issues. Why?

I think celebrity itself is a drug. There's that whole thing—it comes and goes. And now with tweeting and Facebook, it's like cybercrack.

Withdrawal from celebrity is an interesting thing. You see people going, "I'm not as famous. Oh, man, what am I gonna do?" "Steal some jewelry, Lindsay. That helps."

Is addiction the price of fame, or is it the price of talent?

It's the price of drugs, actually. Most of the time with drugs, if you're famous, they give them to you. It's good for business to say that they get you high.

Is it harder to be funnier when you're older?

[In an old-man voice] You... try ... to... stay... funny. [In announcer voice] "Ladies and gen-

tlemen, tonight we're going to talk about... shit... oh, memory." Actually, Mort Sahl is amazingly funny and still has everything going on all cylinders. And being with Jonathan Winters is still pretty wonderful. [Winters died in 2013.] You see these guys like Mort or Don Rickles—that's what keeps them going, that's their survival. They still have it. They're still funny. That's what keeps them alive.

Billy Crystal has said that standup is how comedians process things that are painful.

I was thinking the other day about Tourette's syndrome, where you say whatever is in your subconscious. Why is it always dark things? Is there a nice side to your subconscious? "I really like you. I just want to pet you. In a nice way." Why can't we look for the positive id? The id is always, "Glaarg— you wanna do thaaaat." But we won't get into that. We'd have to reboot.

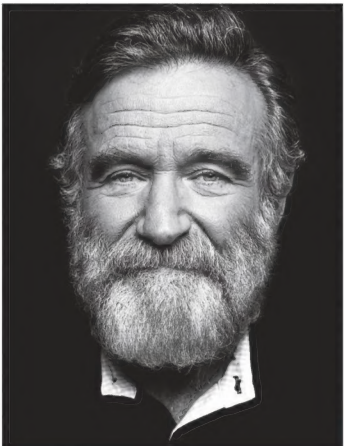
You are unique among comedians in that you haven't written a book.

No. I hope not to.

You hope not to?

Especially autobiography. I just don't have the discipline to do it. The learning, somewhat. But I don't have the discipline to really sit down and write a book. Maybe we'll cut to five years from now—"I'm here with my new book, *So That's the Way You Like It*." But I don't think so.

—BELINDA LUSCOMBE



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